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ART. I.—WHO WROTE SHAKESPEARE?

It is related that, on the occasion of the Prince Regent's visit to Edinburgh, one of the actors on the stage inquired, at the moment that the author of *Waverley* entered the theatre, "Who wrote Shakespeare?" and that the immediate reply was: "Sir Walter Scott!" Of course, this *jeu d'esprit* was received with a tumultuous roar of applause, and the presence of the Crown Prince was forgotten in the wild enthusiasm of admiration for the Great Romancer. There was more point and sense in this extravaganza, and just as much truth in it, as in some recent speculations in regard to the authorship of the productions habitually ascribed to William Shakespeare.

The scepticism in relation to Roman history, which found its ultimate triumph in Niebuhr; the doubts in respect to the composition of the Homeric poems, which through the labors of Heyne, Wolf, and Lepen have reduced Homer to a myth; the cavils relative to the genuineness of the Sacred Scriptures, which have been carried to such repulsive excesses by Baur, Strauss, Ewald, and multitudinous other Rationalists, have been frantically applied to other subjects; but in no instance more unwarrantably or more ridiculously than in questioning Shakespeare's claim to the dramatic and other poems which have given immortality to his name, and unequalled renown to his mother tongue. The recent period of their production, the publicity attending their presentation, the habitual and notorious recognition of the labors of his genius in his own age, the abundance of contemporaneous testimony, the unbroken chain of evidence which connects the present assured conviction with the unsuspecting belief of his friends, colleagues, fellow-dramatists and fellow-actors, might seem to leave no room for incredulity at this late day. But these circumstances have only stimulated the ingenuity of the sceptics, and inspired the design of contriving an

elaborate and complicated theory to explain the necessity, nature, and deliberate caution of the scheme by which the real authorship of the Shakesperian works was concealed during the years of their promulgation, and their creation attributed to a mere stage-player, who was far from being the chief representative of that art in his own day.

Every one who has read it will remember the touching narrative in which Nathaniel Hawthorne gave an account of the strange enthusiast, Miss Delia Bacon, who, half-crazed alike with the task she had undertaken, and before she had undertaken the task, first undertook systematically the audacious enterprise of stripping the laurel crown from the bust of Shakespeare to weave a chaplet for Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates. In the process she contrived to scatter more than half the leaves of the original garland as honors to the circle of wits, poets, statesmen and philosophers who gathered, or were supposed by her to have gathered, around "the Shepherd of the Ocean." There was too much fantasy and indecision in the scheme of Miss Delia, too much nice hair-splitting, quibbling and misplaced ingenuity in her argumentation; too much intricacy and indistinctness in her expression; too much haze and complexity in the labyrinthine tortuosities of her breathless sentences, to make many converts, even among those who are ever ready to welcome an absurd doctrine, and to regard as profundity the bold negation of the best settled conclusions. Still, her doubts went abroad not wholly without effect: she had reason to complain of unfair anticipation and apparent plagiarism even before her own incomplete exposition was given to the world. Every one, however, pitied the hallucinations by which an earnest student of the great poet had been beguiled, a sincere enthusiasm misdirected, and a firm, but unbalanced mind wrecked and shattered. Every one, while rejecting alike the thesis and the mode of its maintenance, was compelled to admire the patient assiduity of research, the womanly minuteness of almost imperceptible details, the sensitive recognition or imagination of remote affinities, the intense devotion to the mighty creations embalmed in the Shakespearian volumes, and the eager pursuit of an inquiry, which continually illustrated the objects of her veneration, if it failed to demonstrate any of the hazardous positions which she assumed. Whatever be the incongruities and the absurdities of Miss Delia Bacon's speculations in regard to the authorship of Shakespeare's works, there can be no doubt that her lynx-eyed examinations, her delicate appreciation of separated passages and isolated expressions, are well calculated to excite a much

more attentive inspection of every line of Shakespeare than was formerly deemed requisite, and are certain, by awakening this quick regard, to reveal higher beauties in the beauties of Shakespeare, more profound profundities in his sagacious and truthful philosophy of life, than had ever before been looked for there.

One disciple, believing while affecting a partial disbelief, Miss Delia Bacon has found on her native side of the Atlantic; a convert we cannot call him, a disciple he can be named only in consequence of the later publication of his reveries. Judge Holmes, of Missouri, claims to have reached his main conclusions on the subject years before they were committed to the press. He is, therefore, independent in his conceptions. But, in point of publicity, Miss Delia takes precedence of him, and is, accordingly, entitled to the questionable honors of priority. However early may have been the Judge's speculations, the lady broke the ice, and he plunged into the freezing waters—but not to her rescue. His views were confirmed by her daring, and he felt encouraged by the notoriety, rather than by the success which she had obtained, to advocate them in the face of the people. He accompanies her, however, only so far as to refuse to Shakespeare all participation in the composition of the works which pass under his name: but instead of intimating that they should be ascribed to Raleigh and the brilliant sanhedrim of wit, and genius, and learning which clustered around Raleigh, inclusive of Bacon, he ascribes the individual honor of their production to Shakespeare's great contemporary, the Lord High Chancellor of England—and of Nature. There is such cloudiness and wavering in the revelations and reasoning of Miss Bacon that it is impossible to ascertain what her precise views are. Her opening chapter indicates a disposition to transfer Shakespeare's honors almost undiminished to Sir Walter Raleigh, but the main body of the book recognizes Bacon as the chief architect, and reduces Sir Walter and his companions to a very subordinate function. Her volume is the second part of an investigation, of which neither the first part nor the conclusion has been communicated to the public. It would be impossible to deal with such a fragmentary presentation of the topic to be discussed, if it were necessary to do anything more than condemn the fundamental heresy which would transfer the splendid triumphs of Shakespeare to any other phantasms. The style in which Judge Holmes' work is written is scarcely more perspicuous and inviting than that of Miss Delia Bacon. It is a style of his own,—a remarkable style—participating, in some respects, or at least in

some parts, in the perplexing and repulsive characteristics of Miss Delia's, which is very far from being Baconian ; running out, like hers, into those endless, those interminable and involved sentences, which break down the patience and baffle the attention of the most conscientious reader ; and show by the absence of clearness, terseness, and precision the want of firm, fixed, definite, and definitely limited views on the part of the writer, who trusts his thoughts on such a frail but cumbrous raft of words in the midst of an unquiet and treacherous sea of speculation.

It is principally, however, in the latter part of his volume, in which the Judge unfolds his very vapory and unintelligible philosophy ; that these defects of style provoke us, the nebulous dissertation evolving itself in a fleecy and fantastically shaped expression. In the earlier part of the book the vigor, directness and accuracy of the phraseology frequently merit high commendation. The English is more natural, more idiomatic, and purer than is usually found in American books. The thoughts are definite and distinct, if heterodox : the reasoning is methodical and orderly disposed, if not calculated to secure conviction : the deductions are logical, if the premises are erratic and erroneous. The Judge, moreover, exhibits much of that careful and microscopic appreciation of Shakesperian expressions which is so signally displayed by his precursor. His work is evidently a labor of love ; and it is always refreshing to meet with one whose whole soul is in his task. His admiration and reverence for the text induce him to withdraw the marvellous productions on which he dotes from the wrong possessor, in order to restore them with restored titles to the rightful owner. It is a curious case of literary *trover and conversion* which is brought before his court for adjudication. He looks upon William Shakespeare as nothing more than the John Doe and the Richard Roe of a fictitious suit, or rather as the John a Stokes of a fictitious alienation, and he would proceed by way of fine and recovery to re-establish the title in the meritorious lord. The same anxious penetration which has enabled Miss Bacon to accumulate around Raleigh and Verulam all the petty but multitudinous circumstances, which, by artful but over-refined interpretation, might indicate the possibility of their connection with the Shakespearian drama, is evinced by Judge Holmes in collating and comparing disconnected passages and scattered thoughts of Shakespeare and Bacon ; in representing the substantial identity of sentiment, and sometimes the very remarkable similarity of utterance in the poet and in the philosopher. Unquestionably this acuteness is in both

cases morbid and overstrained. It rather irritates and bewilders than convinces. But it renders an eminent service. It enables us to appreciate more vividly the intellectual atmosphere of the time. It indicates how much of the rich fancy or the large reflection which we admire in that remarkable Elizabethian era was the common feeling and thought of that day of national awakening. It shows to what extent many of the most searching and comprehensive reflections in Shakespeare and Bacon—and, still more, to what extent the spirit of deep meditation which breathes through their writings, was merely the felicitous exhibition of the current conviction and of the contemporaneous aspiration. The truly great man is he who permanently embodies and realizes the struggling and unshaped desire of his period, being of the age, but in advance of it—the highest, most complete, and most cognizable representation of the previously informed appetency. Thus, these inquiries, however valueless they may be for the distinct purpose contemplated, may be of eminent assistance in facilitating the apprehension of the relation in which the great dramatist and the great reformer of philosophy stood to their contemporaries, and in determining, according to the phrase of Bunsen, their true place in universal history.

From these observations it will be concluded that we are no acolytes of the new heresy, that we are not disposed to pull down Shakespeare's image from the niche which it occupies in the Temple of Fame, in order to set up the statue of either Raleigh or Bacon in its place. We have no crotchetts on this topic: we have no little seraphim of our own to adore, or to force on the adoration of others. But, though we reject unhesitatingly the chimerical project of such substitution, with the same promptitude with which it has been already rejected by the literary world, the heresy thus repudiated is so curious in itself, and is sustained by such diligent and conscientious investigations, that it merits examination, if only to preclude the recurrence of the delusion.

There are some circumstances which have favored this iconoclastic enterprise of destroying the literary name and the fame of William Shakespeare—circumstances without which none would have been so adventurous as to have attempted it. The obscurity and uncertainty which surround almost every incident of the life of Shakespeare, from his infancy to his death, leave a wide opening for conjecture and for fantastic representations. When was he born? what was the condition, and what the occupation of his father? what opportunities of education did he possess? what were the employments of his boyhood and youth? when did he leave Strat-

ford and remove to London? how did he support himself during the first years of his abode in the overgrown metropolis? when did he begin to write for the stage? what were his early productions? what are his genuine dramas? when were they written and first represented? when did he leave the city and return to Stratford? when did he close his dramatic industry? how did he die? what was his creed? what was his character, in youth, manhood, old age? are the portraits of him authentic? is the bust of him at Stratford a contemporary work of rude art, and can its fidelity be relied on? To none of these questions can a plain, direct, and indubitable answer be returned. At one time, indeed, it appeared as if much new and authentic information had been obtained from contemporary records, and from entries of diverse character. But as most of these were professedly discovered and were published by Collier, who has been convicted of literary forgery in connection with Shakespeare's works, their validity has been rendered doubtful in all cases. Hence, we are not merely remitted to our ancient ignorance, but our steps are made hesitating and insecure from the increased sense of doubt which attends every supposed discovery, and which undermines every conclusion.

But, if the biography of Shakespeare is dubious throughout its whole course, there is no such deficiency of information in regard to either Raleigh or Bacon. We may lament the want of fuller details in regard to the projects, purposes, and enterprises of the gallant adventurer who planted the English flag on the shores of America; but we are fully acquainted with the general progress of his career, from the time when he came up from Devonshire, and secured favor at Court by spreading his embroidered cloak in the mire for the feet of the Maiden Queen, till he was ignominiously surrendered by James I. to the executioner, on the demand of the Spanish Ambassador, for having given the English sceptre a claim to the New World, and the promise of American empire.

There can no longer be any complaint of the want of sufficient light for the biography of Francis Bacon. The contemporary life by his chaplain Dr. Rawley, the numerous contemporary notices in journals, memoirs, judicial records, letters, and all forms of private and public literature—the Journals of the Houses of Parliament—the diaries of D'Ewes, Verney and others—the State Trials—the Proceedings of the Council Chamber—the anecdotes of Aubrey—the testimonies of Ben Johnson—the recent biographies of Montagu, Campbell, Dixon, and Spedding, afford an amount of materials which rather overwhelm us by their abundance,

and distract us by their variety and contradictions, than permit any desire of ampler authorities. We may desire clearer light in regard to some of the most noticeable events of his chequered life, but, from the time that he left Cambridge at seventeen years of age till his melancholy death at Arundel House in consequence of his experiment to determine whether meat could not be preserved by cold, we know where he was every month, what he was doing, and almost the occupations of each day. So far as the claims of Bacon to the composition of the Shakespearian poems are concerned, we can bring them rigidly to the test of chronology, and can ascertain their probability or possibility by the consideration of his known occupations during any period assumed for their production or representation.

It is strange that this test did not present itself to Judge Holmes, and has scarcely been employed by him even unconsciously. He would have been more particular in questioning circumstantial evidence in a case of alleged murder.

The three questions to be discriminated and to be separately decided are these :

1. Did Shakespeare write the plays and poems which are ascribed to him ?
2. Could they have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends ?
3. Could they have been written by Lord Bacon ?

The three questions are blended together and discussed together by Miss Delia Bacon, and the confession thence resulting is used by her both as an argument that Shakespeare did not write the works which have been ascribed to him during two centuries and a half, and that Bacon did, with the assistance, direct or indirect, of Raleigh, and Raleigh's confraternity of wits.

The first and third questions are similarly conjoined by Judge Holmes, and with something of the same result.

It must be remarked that both the lady and the gentleman manifest singular adroitness in transforming hypotheses into conclusions, in jumping from hypothetical admissions of their own to supposed demonstrations, and in linking together mere conjectures in order to form a chain of evidence.

From this procedure results a continuous succession of sophisms and inconsequences, each perhaps separately trivial, which brings them by their repetition of the hop-skip-and-jump procedure to their predetermined goal.

In order to avoid the appearance of being guilty of any such fallacies as we have charged to those who impugn the validity of Shakespeare's claim to Shakespeare's works, it

is proper to observe that both Miss Delia Bacon and Judge Holmes admit that these productions were habitually ascribed to Shakespeare in his lifetime, and were never ascribed to Raleigh, or Bacon, or any one else; and that the same belief has subsisted without challenge from the end of the sixteenth century down to the time of the composition of these volumes of preposterous revelation. It is, therefore, unnecessary, as it would be invalid, to show by way of refutation that the entries in his stage books, and in the records of the censorship, the belief of fellow-actors, brother dramatists, friends, and contemporaries of all sorts; the title pages of the first editions of his plays, and the testimony of Heming and Condell, the editors of the first collection of the Shakespearian Drama, all bear undivided evidence to the authorship of William Shakespeare. A great difficulty is thus removed out of the way of the assailants; for, if this evidence could be employed, it is absolutely irresistible. Considering the dense mist which surrounds every period of the private and personal career of Shakespeare—the absence of any detailed or credible chronology of his plays, it is amazing that so many testimonies should have been preserved to the authorship of the several plays.

From Greene's "Groat's Worth of Wit" and Mass's "Treasury of Wit," to the encomiastic verse of Ben Jonson prefixed to the first edition of the collected dramas of Shakespeare, seven years after Shakespeare's death; and to the slight but deliberate notices in Ben Jonson's "Underwoods," there is a continuous series of attestations—all of which, however, must be thrown out and left unemployed.

It is perfectly legitimate, however, to observe that it is wholly inexplicable, if Shakespeare did not write the works ascribed to him, that nowhere should any suspicion of the public error, or any intimation of the borrowed plumes be furnished in the copious array of notices extending over a period of forty years during the lives of his associates. It is unintelligible that Ben Jonson, a fellow actor, a rival dramatist, a compotator, a life-long, though perhaps querulous friend, attached in common to Shakespeare and Bacon, should never have indicated the least doubt on the subject, but should have written his eulogy of the deceased poet in terms utterly incompatible with any such suspicion, and should even have alluded to the appearance of the manuscripts of Shakespeare's plays, with which he was familiar, without any hesitation in regard to their authorship. It is equally unintelligible that Shakespeare should have received the complimentary regards of Queen Elizabeth and King James for works written by

some one else, and for merits to which he was conscious of having no claim. There must have been something in his appearance, manner, bearing, sentiments, conversation, which comported with his public reputation as poet and play-wright, or the borrowed feathers would have dropped off, like the wings of Icarus, in the sunshine of Court favor.

These, however, are only adverse doubts which justify an unfavorable presumption in regard to any theory which seeks to divest Shakespeare of his laurel crown and singing robes. They cannot be pressed as a refutation, when the investigation commences with the admission that Shakespeare was and is the reputed author of the works whose composition is now sought to be referred to other hands.

This admission precludes the use of all testimony otherwise available, and compels the postponement of the decision of the principal question until the others have been determined. There is only one argument which can be consistently introduced at this stage of the inquiry. It is this: Those who impugn Shakespeare's authorship assert, though they adduce no evidence for the assertion, which is the foundation of the case, that the concealment of the true author or authors was a deliberate scheme, and that Shakespeare was put forward as the ostensible author in order to screen the true authors from public recognition. We may ask whether there is any instance in the whole course of literary history of such a secret being so long and so faithfully kept, extending as it must have done to such a multitude of particular instances of concealment. The letters of Junius are the only example that could be adduced; but there is no analogy between the two cases. The secret of the authorship of the Letters of Junius was such that it could be preserved by the writer. It was probably confined to him. It may have been known to King George III., it may possibly have been revealed to a few others; it may have been vaguely suspected by many. But it was his by the secret of the author alone, and he had ample reason for the utmost caution and reticence. But the authorship of the letters was shrewdly suspected at the time of their appearance; it has been suspected ever since. Opinions may differ, and may settle on very different names; but no one supposes that Junius was one person, and the author of Junius another. *Slat nominis umbra*—the name remains, the man who is shaded by the name may be undiscovered. There was no avowed and admitted claim of authorship during the period of publication, to be received without scruple for two centuries and a half and then suddenly questioned. Shakespeare is a real historical personage,

moving about actively in his day, having a large circle of acquaintances in all ranks, and honored from the throne to the green-room and the pit for the brilliant succession of comedies and tragedies brought forward as the fruits of his amazing genius. If he were not the author, it is inconceivable that the secret should have been so successfully kept as never to have been suspected by any of the thousands who had been delighted by his productions; that no intimation should ever have been given of any incongruity between the character, conduct, and talents* of Shakespeare, and the unrivaled credit which he enjoyed for his reputed works.

The supposed participation of Scipio Africanus and Lælius in the creation of the comedy of Terence furnishes no parallelism to this incredible partnership. There is not a particle of valid evidence that the plays of the African dramatist were composed directly or indirectly by any of the brilliant coterie which gathered around Scipio. But, waiving this point, the suspicion was entertained and the accusation alleged at the time of the exhibition of these dramas. The charge is alluded to by Terence himself in terms which show both his willingness to derive the benefit which may be expected from this putative paternity, and the want of any foundation for the fancy. To make the case parallel, it would be necessary that Terence should have been acknowledged as unquestionably the author during his lifetime and for two hundred and fifty years thereafter; and that some bold innovator, in the reign of Claudius or Nero, should have first denied his title and attributed these works to Scipio and his companions.

The project of discarding Shakespeare's claims could only arise on the presumption that our knowledge of the Elizabethan age was fragmentary, imperfect, and inadequate, and that, therefore, there was much room for ingenious conjecture to supply defective information. But exactly the reverse is the case. From the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the restoration of Charles II. our sources of information are singularly numerous, and our knowledge is so minute and so free from suspicion, after the different authorities have been carefully collated, that there is less excuse or opportunity for conjecture than in almost any earlier or later period of English history. There may be ample room for diversity of interpretation, there can scarcely be any for dispute in regard to important facts. Both Miss Bacon and Judge Holmes write in seeming unconsciousness of this surprising exuberance of information, though Judge Holmes has made himself fully acquainted with the extensive recent literature respecting both Shakespeare and Lord Bacon.

There is one preliminary delusion which has evidently suggested the doubt of the accredited authorship of the works of Shakespeare, and given to the argument on the subject what little plausibility it may possess. This delusion grows out of the assumption that Shakespeare was an unlearned and uneducated man, though the plays bear continual evidence of varied information, extensive reading, and considerable scholarship, as well as minute and acute observation. The natural conclusion from this flagrant incongruity would be that Shakespeare was not so devoid of culture as he had been represented to be. The hasty inference drawn by Miss Delia Bacon and Judge Holmes is, that an unlettered man could not have composed these works, and that, as Shakespeare was unlettered, he could not have written them. The conclusion rests upon a purely arbitrary assumption—an assumption wholly unwarranted in the presence of the evidence afforded by the works themselves. The acceptance of the hypothesis of Shakespeare's want of education necessitated the discovery of some contemporary possessed of the requisite learning as well as genius for their composition, in utter forgetfulness of the fact that the world has not produced more than one Shakespeare, and that none but himself can be his parallel. We are not going to argue the question of Shakespeare's acquirements here, but we may venture to say that his scholastic learning was but little inferior to Raleigh's, and not very far below Bacon's. The prevalent misapprehension, which has so long beguiled the literary public, and so egregiously misled both Miss Bacon and Judge Holmes, rests upon the misconception of Ben Jonson's language in the eulogy already alluded to. Rare Ben says :

Though thou hadst small Latin and less Greek
From thence to honour thee.

The obvious signification of this is that Shakespeare's scholarship was not such as to entitle him to commendation on account of any extraordinary erudition. It admits an acquaintance, though not extensive, with Latin literature, and some knowledge, probably only a smattering, of Greek. But the full import of this expression cannot be apprehended until it is remembered that Ben Jonson was himself one of the finest scholars and most learned men of his age—the favorite pupil of Camden—the friend and companion of Bacon, and afterwards of Hobbes—the associate of the profound classical and antiquarian researches of John Selden. What would be very "small Latin and less Greek" in the estimation of Ben Jonson, would be copious erudition for any ordinary student.

"Hinc origo malorum"—hence has proceeded the continual misconception of Shakespeare's attainments. From this first erroneous assumption have proceeded the wild hypotheses of the writers whom we are noticing. Admit that Shakspeare possessed the moderate share of classical and other academical learning evinced by his plays, and there is no necessity and no excuse for looking elsewhere for their author. The first postulate, therefore, of the Boston Maiden and the Missouri Judge fails utterly. But the refutation of these preliminary assumptions is as far as we can logically proceed, until we have disposed of the special conjectures by which it is proposed to explain the production of the unequalled works which have given eternal glory to Shakespeare's name.

2.—Could Shakespeare's plays have been written by Raleigh and his friends?

Miss Delia Bacon does not directly maintain this thesis, but she squints terribly in that direction—and she argues the proposition most ingeniously and elaborately. It is impossible to declare what is her precise thesis. She coquettes with different alternatives. With a lady-like indisposition to commit herself to an insecure proposition, she favors rival claimants, and distributes her favors to the contending parties. The general tenor of her book inclines towards the claims of Bacon—its commencement points decidedly towards Raleigh. Sir Walter seems to be her first choice—Lord Bacon the option of her matured judgment. But with the enduring tenderness of her sex, she never forgets or wholly renounces her early attachments.

Sir Walter Raleigh was certainly the most remarkable man among the handsome and aspiring youth whom the Maiden Queen attracted from all parts of England to her Court, and riveted there. A singular class of men they constituted—those Sidneys, Ratcliffes, Veres, Blounts, Norrises, Cavendishes, Grenvilles, Drakes, Smiths, Gilberts, Champernons, etc.—active, elegant, brilliant, witty, daring, accomplished, unscrupulous; at once men of letters and arms; poets and soldiers; courtiers and statesmen; pirates and founders of states; speculators and judges; uniting the largest and deepest reflection with the most reckless adventure; one day scheming for a fair lady's smiles or a matrimonial fortune, next day starting out after Spanish galleons, the settlement of colonies, or the exploration of unknown lands; penetrating into Muscovy, Turkey, Persia, India, Africa, the shore of North America or the valleys of the Orinoco and the Amazon; traversing the Atlantic, Arctic, Indian and Pacific Oceans with the same fearless spirit with which they assailed

Catharine De Medicis and the armies of the League, or hurled back the invincible Armada, or pushed their fortunes at Court, or jostled rivals out of their way. In this splendid company Raleigh was the most splendid, and with the solitary exception of Sir Philip Sidney, the most accomplished figure. But Raleigh surpassed Sir Philip as much in breadth and depth of comprehension, as Sir Philip surpassed him in serene grace and stately grandeur. Raleigh was as restless as the butterfly; he was ever on the wing. At one time, he is in France fighting under the banners of the gallant Henry of Navarre; at another, he is on the banks of the Orinoco. Now he is reclining with Spenser on the grassy slopes of the Mulla; and now he is fighting Spanish galleys off the Azores. At one time, he is entrancing the fair Elizabeth Throckmorton and entranced by her; at another, he is scraping together all his means to found a state of his own in Virginia, or to supply and recruit the colonists whose disappearance was still unknown to him, and whose extinction he was unwilling to anticipate. With him there was no leisure for the composition of the long series of the Shakespearian dramas, or for any participation in their composition. In fact, at the time when Shakespeare's early reputation was made by the surprising rapidity and beauty of his plays—chiefly comedies—Raleigh was involved in all the difficulties, distractions, anxieties and cares of the first Virginia colony—or in preparation and service against the Spanish fleets and harbors. When Shakespeare was placing the crown of glory on his career by the production of his latest and greatest plays, Raleigh was in the Tower writing the History of the World, with the aid of Ben Jonson, the Earl of Northumberland and other friends or State prisoners. This was a task by no means of light labor, light exaction, light research, or light meditation. Surely there was no leisure here for the composition of dramas—still less for the composition of such dramas as Shakespeare's—nor could his bosom's lord sit so lightly on his throne during those years of anxious apprehension as to have poured out that tranquil and contented radiance of a mind at ease and satisfied with the world, though measuring it justly, which is so characteristic of all the mature works of Shakespeare. The number and array of the Shakespearian dramas are as surprising as any other phenomena connected with those wondrous inventions. There is nothing in literature comparable to such a rapid and brilliant career of successful industry, in the midst of many avocations, but the poems and novels, and miscellaneous writings of Sir Walter Scott. If

mere numbers be regarded, greater productiveness was exhibited by Sophocles and other Attic dramatists, by Lope De Vega and Calderon di Barca ; but how dissimilar was the texture, how much narrower the compass of their inventions ! Is it conceivable that the long list of Shakespeare's plays should have been produced in the midst of the Court services and Court intrigues of Raleigh—of his business avocations and speculations, sometimes in Devonshire, sometimes in Ireland, sometimes looking after sweet wines or other monopolies—in the discharge of his duties as Captain of the Royal Guard—during his expeditions by land or sea, in war or in exploration, in regular military employment, or chasing Spanish prizes ; or should have been composed in his long captivity, simultaneously with the compilation of his History of the World ! That there was a literary confederation in the production of his History of the World, we know. His friends and his fellow-prisoners gathered up the materials, hunted up authorities, discussed dubious points, and perhaps lent other aid, while Raleigh furnished the brain of a statesman and of a man of the world, the genius of the historian, and the style of the founder of nations. But it is a terrible anachronism to extend this kind of literary confederation back to his earlier life, notwithstanding what was done at the Mermaid, and to suppose that the plays of Shakespeare could have been moulded by any such joint stock company of literary talent.

There is an important conclusion, however, which may be drawn from the intimate co-operation of diverse capacities in the production of the History of the World, and from the numerous literary partnerships, such as that of Beaumont and Fletcher, which were engaged in supplying the demands of the theatres. This conclusion is that there was a much freer association of intellects, a much more liberal and encompassing atmosphere of learning and talent in the Elizabethan age than in any subsequent period. We may hence safely infer that Shakespeare had abundant opportunities of supplying any deficiencies in his own learning by frequent, easy, genial, appreciative intercourse with more learned friends, with experienced acquaintances, with men who had commanded armies and assisted in the guidance of States. Whatever knowledge, learning, observation could communicate, was readily accessible, and circulated freely as the air, conveying not merely broken and disconnected fragments of information, but breathing around a vital influence which was imbibed by all within its sphere, and which furnished the common inspiration of all. To this ethereal and spark-

ling atmosphere Raleigh contributed his abundant thought, his varied and novel experience, his ample imagination, as Bacon contributed his large sagacity, his profound meditation, his practical wisdom, and as Shakespeare contributed his lofty poesy, his dazzling wit, his vast comprehension, his versatile fancy, and his boundless sympathy with all the members of the human family, and with all the creations of the Almighty.

That Raleigh was a poet will be denied by none who remember his beautiful reply to the exquisite verses of Marlowe.

That Raleigh was a genius of rare intellectual compass, and remarkable literary taste, will be disputed by none who remember the pregnant and sonorous passages of his *History of the World*.

But there is nothing in either the prose or the poetry of Raleigh which indicates that, even with the fullest leisure and the most entire devotion of his time and talents to dramatic composition, he could have written a single scene of any one of the tragedies or comedies of Shakespeare. Raleigh speculated on the weakness of others, he did not refer them to the general laws of human life, and to the shifting currents of circumstances, all amenable to the higher Providence and working out the purposes of destiny. He did not portray the virtues and vices of men for the sake of contemplating the varied pictures, or of moving the sympathetic emotions of beholders. His arts were the arts of a diplomatic, an intriguant, and a ruler of men, not of a large-visioned student of nature, ever justifying the ways of God to man, and awakening a tender compassion for the faults, and the follies of humanity. In these respects, he was as diverse from the whole habit of thought of Bacon or Shakespeare, as it was possible to be. Granting, what should by no means be granted, that Raleigh could have written the *Richard III.* it was impossible for him to have written the *Hamlet*, the *King Lear*, or the *Tempest*.

Raleigh is, however, only one of the personages in Miss Delia Bacon's scheme. He is merely the *magnus Apollo* of the secret society of references, and, though she commences her inconclusive work with the apparent disposition to concede to him the main part of the production, or suggestion and inspiration of the Shakespearian drama, she occupies the greater part of her volume, and brings it to a conclusion, with an equally manifest desire to refer the actual composition of Shakespeare's poems exclusively, or almost exclusively, to Lord Bacon. She is indistinct and unsettled on every point but two—that Shakespeare did not write Shakespeare

—and that there was an elaborate system of secret organization and concealment in every thing connected with the works of both Shakespeare and Bacon. This brings us to the consideration of the third question.

3.—Could the dramas of Shakespeare have been written by Lord Bacon?

That Shakespeare was merely a stalking-horse for Bacon—“beneath the roof is Jove”—is the position for which Judge Holmes energetically contends. It is also the inference implied in most of the argumentations and elucidations of Miss Bacon. We have notable facilities for the determination of this question. As already stated, the chronology of Lord Bacon’s life and occupations is almost perfect. If similarly minute and authentic information existed, in regard to the daily acts of William Shakespeare, a confident and irrecusable decision might be reached at once. But even without the opportunity of making any such rigid collation of the avocations of these two illustrious men, there is sufficient material to demonstrate the absolute impossibility that the plays of Shakespeare could have been written by Lord Bacon.

If Raleigh’s life was occupied by so many multifarious and distracting cares, as to leave no time for the composition of the cycle of the Shakespearian dramas, this is still more strikingly the case with Bacon’s. The wanderings of the latter were much more infrequent and more restricted than those of the former. There is no reason to believe that Bacon was ever out of England, except in his boyhood, when he accompanied Sir Amyas Paulet on his embassy to France. His ordinary tour extended no further than to Twickenham or Gorhambury. His longest journey after his return from the continent, was when he went to meet James I. on his progress from Scotland at his accession to the English throne. The domesticity of Bacon was due to no disinclination to travel, but to his incessant labors in the study and practice of his profession, in his political employments, in his speculative pursuits and experiments, and in his industrial enterprises. Knowing that Bacon made himself the rival of Coke as a jurist, that he frequently exhibited more accurate and recondite knowledge of law than that great expositor of the common law of England, that almost from the time of his admission to the Bar, he was employed in the legal and other business of the Crown, that many years of his life were devoted to the political and legal interests of Essex, that he was Solicitor, Attorney General, Lord Keeper and Chancellor, it is difficult to understand how he could have secured

the leisure for those meditations, investigations and literary or philosophical exercises which are transmitted to us incompletely, in the sixteen octavo volumes of Montagu's edition of his works. Add to these dissimilar but engrossing exactions the invention and creation of the whole body of his Shakespearian Remains, and the difficulty is changed into an impossibility.

If we had time or space, we have no doubt that the utter absurdity of the concealed authorship alleged, might be demonstrated from the chronological contradictions involved in the hypothesis. A rigid comparison of the dates of Shakespeare's separate plays, so far as they could be approximately ascertained, with Bacon's contemporaneous employments, would show that they could not by any possibility have been written by Bacon.

It has been more than once noted that Bacon appeared to have been wholly unacquainted with the writings of Shakespeare. There is not a single instance in all his works—in his philosophical treatises, in his plays, in his lightest productions, in his histories, in his legal arguments, in his speeches in Parliament—of any quotation from Shakespeare, or of any reference to his illustrious contemporary. This is very noticeable in an author so fond of the ornament of citation as Bacon. He would not have been ignorant of the existence—he could not have been incognizant of the renown of Shakespeare. In his attendance at Court, he must often have been present at the representation of the plays

“Which so did take Eliza and our James.”

His witticism on the subject of Hayward's History of Richard II. precludes the suspicion of ignorance of the play of the same name. The interpretation given by the Queen of Richard II. in her interview with Lambard, the connection of the play with the culminating crime of Essex, and with the trial for treason thence resulting, in which Bacon was engaged—all preclude the suspicion of such ignorance. His intimacy with Ben Jonson is equally adverse to this supposition. But he is equally chary of quoting from Spenser. He refers to him, perhaps, on one occasion. He never borrows a grace or illustration from him. He shows equal disregard of all the other English poets. He would not mix their perishable products with the fabrics of his wondrous loom. He had no confidence in the durability of the English tongue. Thus may be explained his remarkable reticence in regard to Shakespeare, supposing Shakespeare to be more than an *alter ego*. But if he were himself hidden behind the mask of

Shakespeare, there were probably stronger reasons for citing from the reputed works of Shakespeare than for refusing to do so—though it may be alleged that this abstinence was a trick of art to hide the connection between the philosopher and the poet.

But if this were so, it would be still more difficult to explain the absence of any marked parallelism in thought or expression between two such mighty intellects and voluminous authors as are represented by the names of Bacon and Shakespeare. There is not a single instance in which Shakespeare appears to have borrowed anything from Bacon, as there is none in which Bacon appears to have been indebted in the slightest degree to Shakespeare. There is not one indubitable example of positive agreement. It would have been impracticable for any man, writing under two distinct characters, to have deliberately separated the two personages which he presented, with such uniformity as to have avoided in the long revolution of the double career any repetition of his thought, any recurrence of his expression. There is continual repetition in the Baconian works, there is frequent repetition in the works of Shakespeare; but there is no exchange of thought, sentiment, or phrase between Bacon and Shakespeare. There are a few passages in which there is a striking accordance of view between the Lord Chancellor and the stockholder of the Globe Theatre; but, even when such consonance may be detected, there is more divergence than approximation of thought, and the common position appears rather as the republication of a current tenet than as a new and characteristic discovery. This is true with regard to the declaration of the functions of art, to the reflections upon the limits and nature of the knowledge of men, and in regard to the principle announced in the First Aphorism of the *Novum Organon*. Unquestionably, Miss Delia Bacon and Judge Holmes have multiplied indefinitely the supposed parallelisms—but they are the discoveries of an overstrained, a diseased, and a fantastic perspicacity. We will not say that there is no consilience of sentiment in any of the passages adduced by them—we will only say that there is no identity. The argument is in the main imaginary; when not imaginary, it is latent, unconscious, implicit. The employment of the same common word in the same or in a different connection is considered sufficient indication of unity of authorship. If Shakespeare mentions a dog and Bacon mentions a dog also, it justifies with them the allegation that Bacon must have written Shakespeare. The notice of the more striking of such accordances may be of great service for the thorough estimation of both authors, and also for the

due appreciation of the intellectual character of the age. They are due to the pressure of the contemporaneous atmosphere of thought, and reveal to us the form and body of the times. But that more can be properly discerned in them than this is a thesis not to be maintained.

A very searching but prosaic test may be applied to the determination of this question of single authorship. Shakespeare's pre-eminence above all other English authors is not more manifested by the marvellous superiority of his poetic genius than by the singular exuberance of his vocabulary. Marsh has estimated the number of distinct words employed by Shakespeare at 15,000. Milton uses only 8,000, notwithstanding the abundance, richness, and splendor of his style. Shakespeare invents no words; he scarcely ever introduces a philosophical or technical term. His phraseology is pure, unadulterated, unaffected English. He repudiates and ridicules the euphuisms current in his day. Now contrast the vocabulary of Shakespeare with that of Bacon. There are no means of ascertaining the number of words employed by Bacon: there is no Concordance to his works as there is to the works of Shakespeare and Milton. But we may confidently assert that the vocabulary of Bacon is not more copious than that of Milton, notwithstanding his continual inventions, adaptations, neoterisms, and both technical and philosophical phrases. It would have been impossible for the vocabulary of the same man to have been of such unequal extent in two different classes of works. Moreover, the strange peculiarity would be exhibited, if the plays are ascribed to Bacon, that the simple and natural though more abundant utterance is employed in the poetical productions, while the more artificial, elaborate and pedantic expression is reserved for the promulgation of a new philosophy.

We possess another criterion, still more impressive if really less significant, for the determination of this question of Bacon's possible connection with the Shakespearian gallery of portraits. Bacon was a poet and dramatist. We possess specimens of his art. We have poems by him which have been unfairly ridiculed and condemned, though they are not to be brought into even momentary comparison with the slightest effusions of Shakespeare. His version of some of the Psalms, which was written on a sick bed, in old age, with disappointed hopes and breaking heart, are no just test of his poetical powers; but they suffice to show the absence of any touch of that supreme poetic genius which irradiates all Shakespeare's productions. Plays, masques, etc., Bacon wrote, or helped to write, for the community of Gray's Inn, and he

seems to have won much reputation by the skill displayed on such occasions. He wrote them also for other entertainments. One of these dramatic relaxations we still possess, and there is a painful anecdote connected with it. On the reconciliation of the Queen with Essex after that young lord's first disgrace, a high festival was held at Essex House to celebrate the Queen's birthday and the restoration of the royal favor. Bacon wrote a dramatic piece for this celebration. He inserted in it a compliment to Raleigh for his gallant enterprise of exploring the course of the Orinoco and the interior of Guiana, in order to promote a return of amicable relations between Sir Walter and the Earl of Essex. This passage was struck out by the earl's own hand.

This little dramatic dialogue is thoroughly Baconian : it is in no respect Shakesperian. We have the sounding eloquence of the Baconian strain : there is none of the soft, rich, penetrating, winning melody of Shakespeare's music. It is stiff, stately, and rustling prose; not easy but exquisitely finished verse. It is full of the wisdom of a statesman, of the acute observation of a courtier who has seen much of the world ; it has nothing of the heaven-given intuition, the comprehensive and sympathetic appreciation of the great poet, who was akin to all types of humanity, in harmony with all the works, ordinances and purposes of the Creator. The characters are all "masks and faces;" they exhibit neither heart nor life. There is no dramatic presentation ; there is only a series of his own essays cut into formal declamations, delivered in rotation.

altemos Musæ meminisse volebant.
Hos Corydon, illos referebat in ordine Thyrsis.

This is Bacon, but it is not Shakespeare ; and it shows the dissimilarity which divides them—*disparés, non impares*. But the writer of this dialogue could no more have written the Midsummer Night's Dream or the Macbeth than the author of Hamlet could have written the *Novum Organon* or the *Sylva Sylvarum*.

The style of Bacon is not merely distinctively his own—the very form and vesture of his thought—but it is utterly unlike that of any other writer in the English or in any other tongue. There may be more grandeur in the full organ tones of Hooker, more florid brilliancy in the Asiatic exuberance of Jeremy Taylor, more splendor and sublimity in the pealing notes of the loftier strains of Milton's prose, more erudite quaintness and startling suggestion in the strange and exotic fascinations of Sir Thomas Brown, more pliability and unex-

pected magnificence in Edmund Burke, more gorgeous cornuciations of endless antithesis in Macaulay, but they are all unlike the majestic but courtly pomp of the Baconian expression. Moreover, Bacon is not merely distinguished thus broadly from the style of all other writers of English prose by these salient points of difference, but he is singular in the perfect uniformity of his strain. Whether he is paying a compliment to his haughty Tudor Queen, or to his pedantic Stuart King—addressing Puckering, Coke, Buckingham, Essex, or Tobie Matthews—whether writing an apothegm, a scientific experiment, a philosophic reflection, an indictment, a state paper, an act of legislation, a parliamentary harangue, an address in Chancery, a decision, or a friendly letter, there is always the same staid and imposing dignity in his utterance, which moves on like the ostentatious progress of an Eastern monarch. His rhetoric is always on parade, never in a fatigue jacket. There is no chancery, no pliancy in it, notwithstanding all the diversity of subjects treated in his surviving writings. Could such a writer adopt, in consequence of the range and compass of his genius, the Protean variety, the spontaneous facility, the unconscious grace of Shakespeare? Whatever disguise might be assumed, the voice would remain the voice of Jacob, even if the hands appeared to be the hands of Esau.

The style of Shakespeare is as characteristic and unique as that of Bacon. It is, for the most part, peculiarly simple, natural, and without pretension. It is sometimes involved and obscure, either from the complexity of the thought, or from typographical and other negligences; but it generally flows with the same unaffected grace which should characterize the habitual intercourse of the parties to the dialogue. It is singularly variable, adapting its vocabulary, its combinations, its rhythms to the intellectual and social grade of the speakers. Yet, with this unconstrained and changeless versatility, it always bears upon it the impress of the great author and the poetic imagination by which it has been moulded. On every page may be detected Shakespeare's sign manual, but his image and superscription are entirely diverse from the coinage of the Lord High Chancellor of England. Both are stars of the first magnitude—the central suns of independent systems. Both shine with an unborrowed lustre of their own; but the radiance is dissimilar in color, in significance, and in effect; and the dissimilarity evidently proceeds, not from the diversity of the objects upon which the light falls, nor from any consequences of intellectual refraction, but from the original difference of constitution in the luminous bodies them-

selves, and from the unlike composition of the illuminating rays.

There are so many points of contrast between Shakespeare and Bacon, there is so much that may be said upon the multiplied diversities by which they are distinguished from each other, there is such a fascination in the splendors of each, that this investigation might be indefinitely prolonged. We are obliged to renounce any further expansion of the argument, having brought forward, as we believe, abundant evidence to prove that Shakespeare was Shakespeare and Bacon Bacon, and that neither Bacon nor Raleigh, nor any one else, was capable of assuming the office and executing the tasks of Shakespeare.

Neither Miss Delia Bacon nor Judge Holmes is likely to attract many proselytes to their bold heresy. It will be rejected by the instincts of those who have little leisure or inclination to examine into the petty details and circumstances of the Elizabethan period; it will be repudiated at once by the accurate knowledge of those who are at home amid the changeful scenes of that romantic age. But the audacity of the delusion which is espoused by these ingenious writers is calculated to perplex and bewilder our judgment of both the authors and their times—and there are so many interesting subjects implicated in the consideration of the thesis, so much illustration of the genius of both the great literary names thus brought into competition, that we have been tempted to investigate the question, with the hope of affording some satisfaction by throwing new light upon the career of both Bacon and Shakespeare.

ART. II.—NEGRO AGRARIANISM.

WHITE men, with very few exceptions, are in the eager pursuit of property; and all seeking to obtain so much of it that they may be able to live on their incomes, without the necessity of laboring; that is, that by the means of accumulated property, or capital, they may be able to command (without paying for it), enough of the labor, or the results of labor, of others to support themselves, either plainly or luxuriously. They do not propose to exchange any part of their capital for other people's labor, but simply to employ it as an instrument to compel the poor to "stand and deliver," precisely as the highwayman uses his pistol to empty the pockets of the rich. Of course, all white men who desire, or expect in any way to accumulate, or come into possession of wealth, wish to retain it after acquiring it. Hence, very generally, they are conservatives, however poor, because to advocate agrarianism, would be to teach and

incite men to destroy that very property which they are laboring to attain. If white men saw society so organized that there was no possibility of the poor rising above their condition, and becoming rich, then the poor would be agrarians.

The very little of agrarianism ever exhibited among the white race, has been directed against odious land monopolies—such as that held by the Roman patricians, the Catholic Church in England, and the same church, and the nobility, in France. Even in these instances, it was the higher classes, the statesmen, scholars and philosophers, who began the agrarian agitations and movements. White men never have been, and never will be agrarians, where all have equal opportunities of acquiring and holding property. Conservatism is everywhere, and ever has been, a part of the white man's nature. His instinct impels him to accumulate property, and the same instinct impels him to sustain and conserve it after it is accumulated. And he can only conserve it by uniting with his fellow men to protect and conserve it by the laws of the land. The laws that protect property arise, not from the reason, but from the instincts of the Caucasian race. Such laws have ever existed, and been vigorously enforced among every nation, variety and tribe of that race. We mean by capital or property, that amount of it that will command labor, beget income, and in a greater or less degree relieve its owners from the necessity of laboring.

In this sense, property has never existed, or scarce every existed, among native and savage tribes, whether negroes or Indians. There is not a chief, a king, or subject in Africa, from Sahara to the Cape, who owns property in this sense, unless it be in the immediate vicinity of European colonies. 'Tis true all savages own property such as instruments for fishing, hunting, and tilling the earth; and other property, such as flocks and herds, that are consumed in the use; but of property or capital, as an instrument of taxation, exploitation or income-producing, they have none. Nor are they capable of acquiring large amounts of property, or if given to them, can they so wield and manage it as to command labor and beget income. They are perfectly conscious of this universal, ineffaceable defect of character; and seeing that whites, or even mixed breeds settled among them, soon acquire and hold lands and other capital, and so manage it as to become virtually the masters of the negroes, they always oppose the settlement of the whites among them, and never fail to massacre all that do intrude, so soon as a favorable opportunity occurs. They are, from the necessity of their natures, the enemies of property, not of the white race. They expelled the whites from Hayti because they owned lands and other capital, and have been for the last eighty years trying to expel, or massacring, the mixed breeds for the same reason. Their hatred, proscription and massacring does not stop here; for they are just as ready to murder the free, sporadic, abnormal negroes who have acquired property, as to massacre the whites and mixed breeds. They, and all other negroes, are naturally and incurably agrarians, the implacable enemies of the institution of pri-

vate property, not of the white race. It is a gross misnomer, and leads to mischievous conclusions, to charge them with hostility to the white race. Hostility to property, and not hostility to the white race, impels them to exclude and murder whites.

They are right. Nature never intended, and never will permit the races to live together, except as masters and slaves, so that the superior race, commanding the labor of the inferior race, shall at the same time be compelled to provide for, and take care of that race. We do not mean by slavery such as that which has been recently abolished, but some form of subordination of the inferior race that shall compel them to labor, whilst it protects their rights and provides for their wants.

The true dividing line between the negro and the white man is, that the negro, like the inferior animals, is the enemy of property; the white man its friend, its supporter, and advocate.

It is proposed to bring the savage, brutish negro, into our political and social system. He is, from his nature, the enemy of that system, and wherever he has, from numbers, the control, he will abolish private property, and inaugurate savage communism. Those who are tired of civilized life, may well advocate negro supremacy, for negroes must, from the necessity of their natures, abolish private property, and inaugurate communism. Let Yankee socialists be candid, truthful, and honest. If they wish to bring about individual human equality, they must put the negroes uppermost, and thereby abolish individual private property.

Gustave d'Alaux, a late French writer, after giving a graphic account of the massacre of the mulattoes in the very palace of Soulouque, (called afterwards Faustin the First,) thus proceeds: "At the time of the Black reaction of 1844, the bandit Acaam, barefooted and clothed in a sort of linen gown, and coifed in a small straw hat, appeared at his parish church, and there made a public vow not to change his costume 'until the orders of Divine Providence' should be executed. Then turning himself toward the negro peasants, assembled at the sound of the *lambis* (a conch shell), Acaam explained that Divine Providence commanded the poor people to hunt down the mulattoes, and secondly, to divide among themselves the property of the mulattoes. As indelicate as appeared this requirement to the higher class, the auditory could not call it in question, since it had the sanction of an *ex-garde champetre*, strengthened by a lieutenant of the gendarmes, for such was Acaam's position when he announced himself 'General-in-chief of the demands of his fellow-citizens.' A murmur of disapprobation, nevertheless, ran through the assembly, whilst its attention wandered from some well-clad blacks to a few ragged mulattoes, who were lost in the crowd. Acaam understood it. 'Oh, these are negroes,' pointing to the mulattoes in question.

"A black, thirty years of age, employed as a laborer at a *guildine*, (iron factory,) then issued from the ranks, and said to the crowd: 'Acaam is right, for the Virgin has said, "The rich negro who can read and write is a mulatto; the poor mulatto who neither knows how

to read or write, is a negro.' " This spirit of persecution, persevered in for three-fourths of a century, has driven most of the mulattoes to the Dominican Republic, or Spanish part of the island. Yet the few of the mixed blood who remain, own most of the lands and other property, and are virtually the masters of the negroes, who are confined to the plantations, and not permitted to leave without the written permit of the landlord, countersigned by the military officer of the district. Everything else has been continually changing in Hayti, but this admirable regulation of *Toussaint L'Ouverture*, their black Washington, has never changed.

The blacks own a little land in Hayti, and live on it, without cultivating it, just as do the other wild animals of this highly favored island.

Were the negroes of Hayti, in the absence of mulattoes, capable of conducting a government, like civilized whites, they would be perfectly justifiable in massacring or expelling the mulattoes, who, whilst they remain, will monopolize property of all kinds, and be in all save the name the masters of the blacks—at all events, the exterminating conduct of the Haytien negroes is natural, if not morally right. Incapable of holding and administering property themselves, they are the mortal and implacable enemies of all who do hold property—and all savages, whether negroes or Indians, the world over, are like the Haytiens, uncompromising agrarians.

Such is the element which the abolitionists propose to introduce into our social and political institutions. If they succeed, we may learn, from the examples of Hayti and Jamaica what will be the results.

So little respect have savages for the right of property, that they are all thieves, and steal everything they can lay their hands on, although they may have no use or occasion for it.

This morbid propensity to steal, without want or other provocation, is of such rare occurrence among whites, that it is classed by physicians and jurisconsults as a form of intellectual madness, and is termed "The derangement of the moral faculty." White men who steal habitually and without provocation, are lunatics; but savages all steal, not because they are lunatics, but because by nature they are agrarians, and have no respect or regard for the right of property.

If there were no other evidences, the conduct of the negro at the South since the war would suffice to prove that as a race they are agrarians—all of them propose to take away or divide the lands of the whites; and great numbers of them have seized upon lands which they refuse to give up, and yet neglect to cultivate. In their numerous public meetings and conventions, they plainly discover by their speeches and proposed measures, that agrarianism is their sole object. To tax the whites for the support and education of the blacks, they deem the only appropriate business of government, and a few leading radicals encourage the idea. The taxes which they propose, would render the lands valueless to their present owners, and compel them to seek other homes.

The negroes of Africa have really no fixed, well defined, permanent government, and scarce any of the institutions that are needed to sustain government. They are all anarchists, destructives and agrarians—as are also the negroes of Hayti and Jamaica.

We shall soon have in the South, not negro rule (for they cannot rule anything—not even their own household), but negro anarchy and agrarianism.

We do not see how this state of things can be prevented by peaceable means, and we have had far too much war. We must submit to negro misrule, cruelty and proscription, until the Democratic party at the North gets into power. They will assuredly set all things right.

In the meantime, the President should see to it, that not one single abolition emissary or agitator, should hold office in the army or Bureau at the South. These enemies of their own race are not, as they pretend, friends of the negroes, but unprincipled Dalghettys, ready to cheat and betray either race.

It is only in times of revolution that such base miscreants get into power. The people have become heartily sick of them, and will soon consign them to infamous retirement.

ART. III.—HOW SHALL OUR FOREIGN COMMERCE BE SUSTAINED?

[Prof. David Christy has furnished us another of his characteristic articles, prepared at the request of the mining explorers from the Pacific States, now in New York City, who, failing to obtain capital to develope their mines from private sources, are appealing to Congress for aid.—ED. DE BOW'S REVIEW.]

AMONG the industrial interests of the nation, no department is assuming, at present, such importance as the mining pursuits of the Pacific States, and none stands in greater need of the fostering care of the National Government.

The truth of this proposition is easily demonstrated.

From the time that our foreign commerce began to assume its gigantic proportions, down to the outbreak of our late civil war, the monopoly of the cotton markets of the world, which we had secured, afforded us the means of paying for our enormous importations of foreign commodities. The cotton, raw and manufactured, which we shipped abroad, at the date last named, (1860,) was valued, for the year, at more than \$200,000,000, notwithstanding the low prices then prevailing; while the other products of agriculture, including breadstuffs and provisions, were valued at only \$45,271,000.

The breaking up of our labor system, in the Southern States, bringing them to the level of the labor systems adopted in the tropical possessions of Great Britain and France, owing to the low rate of wages prevailing among them, and the customs and dispo-

sitions of our free colored men, together with the high wages demanded by them, has lost us the cotton monopoly, and made it impracticable for us to successfully continue the cultivation of cotton on the extensive scale heretofore prevailing. Nor have the mines of the precious metals, as now operated, been adequate to the task of making up the deficiency.

The evil effects of this decline in our production of cotton, and the failure to develop in a corresponding degree our mineral resources, have not yet been felt in their full force, because of the high value attached to our railroad and Government bonds in Europe, by means of which our ability to import the usual amount of foreign productions has been maintained.

But it is impossible that we can continue thus to pile up an indebtedness abroad, the interest on which is sufficient, already, to swallow up the greater portion of all the bullion produced, annually, by the mines of the Pacific States, and which, ere long, must be felt as an insupportable burden by the people. It is apparent, therefore, that we must open up some source of wealth that can be extended indefinitely, so as to meet the necessities of the country.

As to our cereal products, for the want of adequate labor directed to that branch of industry, they can never be relied upon as capable of replacing the cotton crop in our foreign commerce; and even with an abundance of labor, they must remain unreliable, because of occasional short crops, and the competition to be met with from the agricultural districts of the Old World.

With these facts before us, there is no escaping from the conclusion, that we shall be driven to the necessity of relying upon our mines of silver and of gold, to maintain our position among commercial nations. We have no other source of wealth that can possibly be made to meet our wants.

But such a speedy development of our mines of the precious metals as will meet the increasing necessities of the people—paying the interest on our foreign and domestic indebtedness, and supplying a sound circulating medium—cannot be effected by the limited agencies now employed in working our mines. To be efficient, these agencies must be increased a thousand fold, so that the hundred millions of dollars a year, now yielded by California and Nevada, may be augmented to a billion annually.

And that such an increase may be effected is no chimera, but is practicable by proper aid from the General Government. Look a moment at the actual facts:

I take the territory in relation to which the facts are most fully known. There is Virginia City, on the western side of Nevada, with its gigantic Comstock ledge, now yielding over \$16,000,000 a year. But this locality is unique in its character, having only this one ledge, of world-wide fame. Capital in abundance, under the excitement of its first discovery, found its way here, and the whole ledge is now appropriated, and its ores in the course of reduction. A thousand years cannot exhaust them.

But quite a different scene is presented in the Reese River region, on the eastern side of Nevada. So abundant are the silver-bearing ledges there, that it has been found necessary to lay off the mineral ranges into districts. A brief notice of a few of them, only, can be taken, as indicating the general character of the whole.

And, first, we have REESE RIVER DISTRICT, including the city of Austin, with over one thousand ledges, most of which have been thoroughly tested, with very encouraging results. The few mills, for the reduction of ores, which have been erected in this district, are now yielding at the rate of \$300,000 a month, and some of the twenty-stamp mills, that are in perfect working order, are each producing, when uninterrupted, near \$100,000 a month—one of them, for November, \$105,583 10. Very many of the ledges can be made to yield this sum, were their owners enabled to put them in complete working condition. This fact is mentioned to show the working capacity of a twenty-stamp mill, when it is fully supplied with ores, fuel, and salt. But the great body of the ledges, being in the possession of the discoverers, are awaiting the movements of capitalists to render their mines productive.

Next in order, southward, lies the SMOKEY VALLEY DISTRICT, which has about one hundred ledges, many of which have been tested, but no mills have been erected upon any of them, thus leaving these ledges unproductive. The test of their ores has been made in the mills near Austin. A mill is in the course of erection.

Then, south of Smokey Valley, lies SANTA Fé DISTRICT. The number of ledges discovered in this district, is not less than four hundred, some of which have been opened to the depth of ninety feet. The thickness of the ledges ranges from six to ten and even as high as eighteen feet. These mines are all unproductive, no mills having been erected, as the discoverers are without capital.

Southward of Santa Fé District, lies BUNKER HILL DISTRICT. It is estimated to have at least one hundred ledges. One five-stamp mill is now in operation in the district, which works out about 3,000 ounces per week. As the bullion contains some gold, this yield will nearly equal \$4,000 in greenbacks. A twenty-stamp mill, heretofore under way, will be in successful operation early in the spring. Although this district is in the infancy of its mining progress, enough has been accomplished to determine that the ores of its ledges are sufficiently rich to afford a bountiful harvest of bullion, had the owners of its numerous mines the means of prosecuting their development. The thickness of the ledges ranges from three to twenty-five feet.

HOT CREEK and TWIN RIVER DISTRICTS, lie still farther south, and are also very promising. The *Old Dominion Mill* in the former, and the *Murphy Mill* in the latter, now so far completed as to send off considerable bullion, demonstrate the rich character of the mines in the range of districts I have been considering.

Many other districts might be enumerated, all possessing the same general characteristics, but this must serve as a type of the whole. In one respect all are nearly similarly situated. They have to keep very many of the original discoverers of the promising ledges within their bounds in a constant state of perplexity, because of the impossibility of procuring capital to make their discoveries available.

To be able to estimate the productive capacity of the Pacific States, at large, take, as an example, Lander County, Nevada, of which Austin is the central city. The Report of the Assessor, recently made, for the quarter ending Sept. 30, is very satisfactory. His list of mines in Lander County, embraces SIXTY-ONE. Of these, THIRTEEN had each worked less than *two tons*; THIRTEEN others had worked less than *three tons*; six others had worked less than *four tons*; SEVEN others had worked less than *seven tons*; TWELVE others had worked from *ten to forty tons*; while one had worked *one hundred and eight tons*, another, *five hundred and twenty-seven tons*, and another, *seven hundred and sixty tons*.

The mines reporting the smaller amounts, had only made test experiments of their ores in mills belonging to other parties. These tests, however, are very important, as indicating the extent to which the owners of mines are struggling to develope their properties.

But the more important fact remains to be noted. The yield of the precious metals, per ton, is also stated by the Assessor. The values are given in currency. The production, per ton, ranged from \$45 to \$393⁴⁹. TWENTY-SIX of the mines yielded an average of over \$230 per ton; TWENTY-SEVEN yielded from \$100 to \$200 per ton; and EIGHT from \$16 to \$393 per ton.

These yields per ton are very much greater than the reported yields of some of the famed Mexican mines; that of Zacatecas, for example, which has produced in the last 319 years the sum of \$796,043,835, yields an average of but \$70 per ton.

I may state, in addition, that the mines in Sinaloa, Mexico, are reported as yielding \$150 per ton, as an average; while, at the same time, it is asserted that, "as a general thing, the princely revenues of Mexicans have been made from mines that produced ores that averaged less than \$50 per ton." Another fact in relation to a number of what are claimed to be the best mines in Sinaloa is, that the ledges have a thickness of from **SIX TO TWELVE FEET**; thus proving that they are not more promising than many of the mines of Nevada.*

Now, with such facts as these before us, it is no extravagant assertion to say, that there is capital enough in the country to purchase and work all the mines in the Pacific States, providing there were ample evidences of their paying capacities, so as to remove the distrust everywhere prevailing. And what, I may be asked, will afford that evidence? I answer, nothing but the

* See Rep. of Sinaloa Silver Mining Co., of the City of New York, 1867.

general development of the mines wherever discovered. I will explain :

A poor man has discovered a ledge of silver-bearing ore—that is, a man of indomitable energy has become poor in purse, not in spirit, by expending all his money in researches in the mountains during two or three years, sleeping on the rocks or sage brush, with his boots for a pillow, and subsisting as only an explorer can subsist,—this man, whose money is all gone, has discovered many rich ledges but is without the ability to work them, as no mills exist within any reasonable distance of his mines ; nor can he leave the country for home, where he might hope for aid, but sets to work in the mines in operation to earn money ; and here he meets with others in like condition with himself ; they unite their interests, and make an effort to dispose of their property, or to prevail on capitalists to join them in the development of their mines.

Being unsuccessful on the Pacific coast, one of their number is delegated to visit New York, to open negotiations with the capitalists of that city ; but all is distrust, and a year, and two years, he struggles on and hopes on, but nothing is done, and he can very rarely do any thing unless he has the confidence of some gentleman of influence, who relies upon the agent's integrity and intelligence, and even then he is allowed but a small share for himself and friends in the proceeds of the rich treasures he and they have discovered. And this result is not the fruits of any fault or undue rapacity on the part of the friend who comes to his relief. That friend, as is generally the case, can do no better, because he cannot supply the necessary funds himself, and has to enlist others in the enterprise. The agent and his friend soon learn, if they did not know it before, that capital has no philanthropy, no conscience, when enlisted in negotiations with intelligence, enterprise and labor. Capital bases its action upon certainties, and if it takes risks, it is because the chances of profit are very largely in its favor.

Now, all this may be remedied. If a reduction mill existed in the vicinity of the undeveloped mines, the discoverers could manage to make an adequate test of their ores, because they could mine them out even with their own labor, and the yield of bullion would pay all necessary expenses, and give to the property, perhaps, a value of millions, alluring capitalists to the tempting prize, and securing to the owners an ample reward for all their toil and deprivations. It will be easy to calculate the impulse which the erection of a suitable number of mills would give to mining, when it is stated that ores from mines over 150 miles distant have been brought to Austin for reduction in its mills. But, to proceed :

With the erection of a reduction mill near him, this is what the explorer would have to do to establish the true character of

his mines and secure a ready sale for his property. He must sink a shaft on his ledge, say $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 feet, to the depth of 100 feet. The vein rock yielded will weigh 166 lbs. to the cubic foot, or 273 tons in the descent of 100 feet. At the low estimate of \$50 per ton, this ore will yield \$13,650. The mining of this ore will cost \$20 per foot, or \$2,000. The mill charges will be \$25 per ton, or \$6,525, leaving a net profit of \$5,135 on this first operation. These are proximate statements, but nearly correct.

But more than this will be required. He has taken up 1200 feet on the ledge discovered. Does it certainly extend a distance of 1200 feet, as good workable ore? This must be determined. His shaft, now sunk, is located in the centre of his claim. He must tunnel out, from the bottom of his shaft, a distance each way of 600 feet, so as to test the whole 1200 feet. His tunnel, being the same size as his shaft ($5\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 feet), will yield 3,276 tons of ores, costing \$20 per foot to mine it, or \$24,000 for the 1200 feet. The reduction of these ores, at \$25 per ton, will cost \$81,900. The product of these ores, at the estimate of \$50 per ton, will be \$163,000, leaving a balance for the discoverer of \$57,900.

At this stage of the proceedings the owner of the ledge can, from the surplus in his hands, erect a mill for himself, or purchase the one at which his work has been done, should it be for sale.

The discoverer is now independent. His mine is thoroughly tested, and all the ore in his ledge above the tunnel, if it has proved to extend the whole 1200 feet, is, in the language of the miners, said to be "in sight;" and, in this condition, if it yields an average of \$50 the ton, is estimated to be worth \$5,000,000, and in this proportion its value increases, should the ores be richer than the estimate here given, or the ledges have a greater thickness.

Another point may as well be noticed here: this "ore in sight" can be mined out at a cost of *one dollar per ton*—the bringing the ore to the surface being the principal expense, as a single blast of powder may throw down from overhead many tons of ore. The value of this ore in sight may as well be estimated. It is 1,200 feet in length, 100 feet in depth, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, and will yield about 60,000 tons, which at \$50 the ton, will be worth about

The cost of reduction, \$25 per ton	\$1,500,000	\$3,000,000
" " Mining, \$1 per ton	60,000	
		1,560,000

Leaving a surplus of \$1,440,000

When this first hundred feet is worked out, another section of a hundred feet, more or less, can be removed, and another, and so on, until the utmost limits of descent are attained. This point

is usually fixed at a depth of 3,000 to 4,000 feet below the sea-level, when the increased temperature and difficulty of ventilation forces the miner to desist from further labors. Nor are the profits of the deeper mining anything less usually than from that near the surface, as the increasing richness of the ores and the widening of the ledges in the descent generally more than compensate for the increased expense of mining.

What I have to propose is this: that the Government shall give its aid in the development of the numerous mines in the Pacific States or elsewhere in the United States, which, without such aid, must remain unproductive for very many years. And I urge this for many reasons, but especially because a return to a specie currency is demanded as a public necessity, and an increase of the precious metals is indispensable to the accomplishment of that object. A resort to mining on an extensive scale has therefore become an imperative duty.

But do not understand me as favoring a scheme of mining by the Government itself. That would be an injudicious policy. What is demanded is, that it shall loan its credit to the owners of mines, so as to enable them to render their discoveries available.

And this object, I think, can be accomplished best by issuing its bonds, bearing seven per cent. interest, *in coin*, payable, say, in six years, to an amount sufficient to erect a reduction mill of twenty stamps in each mining district; or what would be better, that such bonds should be issued to each Company or Association of miners whose groups of ledges could be conveniently worked in the same mill; that this mill shall be used by the Company or Association until their ledges of silver or gold-bearing rock shall be so far developed as fully to test their value, as before described in the process of bringing the ores of a ledge "in sight;" and that then the connection of the Government with such Company or Association shall cease, as the owners of the mines would be rendered perfectly independent, and able to proceed with the development and working of their mines without further aid from Government.

And, further, in this measure for the increase of the precious metals in a ratio much greater than can otherwise prevail, it must be provided that the Government shall be secured against loss; and this can be effected by a very plain mode of procedure, not at all oppressive to the owners of the silver and gold-producing mines. Let it be provided that there shall be paid to the nearest Collector of Internal Revenue a sum in coin or bullion, semi-annually, equaling the amount due as interest upon the bonds issued, so long as the Company or Association may elect to pay the same, being limited, however, to the six years proposed as the term they shall be made to run. And let it be further provided, that at any time the Association or Company shall choose to pay the amount of the bonds issued in their favor, with all interest due thereon, the mill property shall be transferred to them, and the Government lien thereon shall cease.

It is not intended to cast any reflections upon capitalists because of their present reluctance in advancing funds for the development of the mines now in the hands of fortunate mining explorers. Already they have advanced over \$60,000,000, as estimated by those who know the facts, in these mining schemes; and while many are realizing largely from their investments, and quietly pocketing their dividends, the greater portion have lost their capital advanced, either by the inexperience and extravagance of the agents sent out, the mistakes or false representations of the mining explorers, or the impatience of the capitalists themselves in abandoning properties because profits were not realized at a period much earlier than it was possible to do so, in a mining region where every thing was new and untried. But what I aim at is this: to impress upon Congress the truth, that in the present condition of things, the speedy development of our silver mines must depend upon Government aid; and that the necessary aid should be afforded at once, so that a most valuable class of citizens may be relieved from the crushing effects of the embarrassments now pressing upon them. To these men the measure proposed would be most beneficent; and to the Government itself, the increase of the circulating medium resulting therefrom would be of incalculable value.

Another point demands notice. To arrive at a fair conclusion as to the amount necessary to be provided for by the General Government, to give the necessary impulse to our mining interests, it may be necessary to state the cost of a twenty-stamp mill, with its accompanying roasters. The necessary inquiries have been made, with the following results:

The machinery at the foundry in San Francisco,	\$13,000
Eight Roasters, at \$2,000 each,	16,000
Transportation to the mines,	5,000
The erection of plain substantial buildings,	8,000
To supply powder, quicksilver, and aid in mining,	8,000
	<hr/>
	\$50,000

This sum, I am assured, by experienced men, will be amply sufficient to prosecute the development and the working of a mine with vigor, and so as to produce returns of bullion worth, say, \$100,000 per month—that being the rate of production, at present, by the twenty-stamp mills in full operation in Lander County.

There are many combinations of discoverers, and their friends, who own a number of ledges, and who represent others owning a like number—some five, ten, eighteen, thirty, forty, or more.

Now, let Government extend its credit, say, to one hundred of these Associations. This would require the issuing of bonds to the amount of \$5,000,000. These one hundred mills, in full operation, would yield, at the rate of \$100,000 each, per month, making an aggregate of \$120,000,000 per annum.

• But this is not the only result that would follow this liberal policy of the Government. It would only be the setting of the ball in motion. Each one of these one hundred Associations, who had received the aid of the Government, as soon as they had paid for their mill, could easily proceed to the opening and working of ten other mines, from the proceeds of the one in operation, producing a ten-fold increase of bullion, and thus adding, annually, to our specie circulation, a sum equaling \$1,200,000,000.

But the Government need not limit its favors to one hundred Associations. That number could be advantageously aided in Nevada alone; and, doubtless, the other States and Territories, rich in the precious metals, might each present claims equally as strong as Nevada.

Why, then, shall not this measure be received with favor? Can any thing more promising, as a means of relieving the nation, be devised?

Lest some may fear that the process of opening and working the mines, on the plan proposed, would be too tardy to be of any advantage in relieving the nation from its embarrassments, it may be well to state, that the usual rate at which a twenty-stamp mill can be made to reduce silver ores, is about twenty-five tons a day, by the wet process, and fifteen to eighteen by the roasting process: the former employing sixteen to eighteen men, in mining and working the mill, and the latter forty men.

At these rates, the 273 tons, yielded by the 100-feet shaft, could be reduced in less than fifteen to twenty days; and the 3,276 tons, from the tunnels, could all be worked in less than eight months.

Allowing six months for procuring and fitting up the mill, the whole process of the extensive test, before described, could be completed, bringing the 60,000 tons of ores "in sight," at the farthest, in about eighteen months: at the same time, the product of precious metals, from the ores worked, would pay all expenses, besides the amount due the Government for interest on the bonds and the cost of the mill, thus protecting the Government against loss, and amply repaying it for the loan of its credit, in the increase of the circulating medium that would be the result of these efforts.

It is only necessary for me to add, gentlemen, that I have positive assurances, that you represent more than silver-bearing ledges, and that with the grant of the aid prayed for, you, and each of you, will speedily proceed to the development of the properties represented by you. I may also add, that many of your number have been known to me for a period of one to two years, as engaged, unsuccessfully, in efforts to obtain the necessary funds to develope the mining properties you represent.

Respectfully yours,

DAVID CHRISTY.

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 1868. }
No. 141 Broadway. }

ART. IV.—THE INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS OF THE SOUTH.

JUDGE MOORE of Alabama has prepared an elaborate work, entitled "Reflections upon the late great struggle in America, and its probable consequences," a subject he has treated with rare ability, and from a stand-point so far unoccupied by any other writer on this fruitful theme. He has kindly permitted us to read a large portion of the work in manuscript, and at our request has prepared abridgements of its several parts, which will appear in the REVIEW from time to time, and will, we feel assured, effect the greatest good, not only in the South, but in all parts of the country wherever we have readers.

As bearing more immediately upon the stern necessities of the hour, we select for present publication the abridgement of the third part of the work, which treats of the "Probable Consequences of the late Great Struggle in regard to the Industrial Interests of the South," and bespeak for its earnest argument the attentive consideration of our readers.—EDITORS REVIEW.

IN times past, when the relation of master and servant existed, those engaged in agricultural pursuits could *buy* their provisions and then successfully compete in the markets of the world with their staple productions, defying all competition. In the cotton region, especially, was this the case. Some bought almost the entire stock of provisions they consumed, while all, or nearly all, bought more or less. Since the destruction of our old labor system, the most persevering, I might say herculean, efforts have been made, under the stimulus of higher prices, to cultivate the staples by *hiring* labor and *buying* provisions. Nearly every effort has become a failure, while a great majority have been disastrous failures—disastrous not only to the *white employers*, but to the *African laborers*. Upon the question what policy under the circumstances will be adopted, depends to a great, a very great extent the probable consequences of the late struggle in regard to the industrial interests of the South; and upon this question depends all the people of the South should hold most dear, for weal or for woe, not only for the future but for the immediate present; and to ascertain what this policy will probably be, I shall endeavour to ascertain what policy the dictates of selfish interests will suggest, since these are more or less paramount considerations with us all; but under the difficulties by which we are surrounded and well nigh overwhelmed, I shall presume such policy will be dictated by enlightened judgment, after mature and deliberate thought and reflection. In the first place, then, we cannot cultivate the soil without labor, we can get labor only by *hiring* it, and the only labor we can hire is the labor of the African. The only other labor that could be hoped for is the labor of the foreign emigrant; we can not get that, at least, for the present, for the foreign emigrant can get as good, if not better, wages in the boun-

ful provision region of the North-West, where living is cheap; and find employment in the cultivation of grain crops, which is far less laborious than the cultivation of the staples. Besides all which, it would require far greater inducements than any one could possibly offer to influence others to come here, when the most terrible problem ever forced upon any people is demanding solution—whether two peoples, of not only distinctive but antagonistic traits, can occupy the same country in peace, when the inferior is not held in subordination to the superior. Let us take the case to ourselves, and we would not under such circumstances seek a home here; and as it would be with us, so it is with others. So that we and the African—the whites and the blacks—are forced to work out together our temporal salvation, if worked out at all, agriculturally, socially, and politically, for which purpose we should most devoutly implore the aid of Almighty God, by the mysterious dispensation of whose providence, without the consent of either, the two races were brought together and their destiny so long united, and especially for a peaceable solution of the problem. Indeed, nearly all that is left us at which we may rejoice is, that the Omnipotent God ruleth over all—in the armies of Heaven and among the children of men—that He who knew the end from the beginning has ordered all things for the best.

As, then, we shall be forced to hire African labor, we must cease to buy provisions, or go from *bad to worse until hopelessly ruined*. And the only means to get provisions without buying them is to raise them; we may not raise enough in one year, but in two or more we can, and the sooner we begin the sooner will the object be accomplished. Experience will then soon determine whether we can successfully cultivate the staples without *buying* provisions, for even that is a question by no means far from doubt. But the question may be now considered as definitely settled, that under the existing system, nor under any other, save the old system, can the staples be successfully cultivated, when we ignore the system of raising our own supplies. Even under the old system, those who raised their supplies were the most successful in the cultivation of the staples, as is well known; for if they did not raise so much of the staples, their crops were not curtailed by the purchase of supplies. The only remaining question, then, is, can we raise our supplies? I have not now the statistics by me, but they abound in Dr Bow's REVIEW, and may be found almost every where, to prove there is not on the habitable globe a better grain-growing and stock-raising region than the South, including the cotton belt. If experience and statistics do not prove this, they can prove nothing. This, then, is the policy which the dictates of interest suggest—making the growing of grain, raising of stock, sowing fields and planting vineyards the leading or paramount pursuits, and raising the staples as purely incidental. Thus for subsistence and clothing, our own wants would be abundantly supplied, while the plain dictates of common sense would say, if those engaged in the commerce of the world are independent of us, self-preservation requires we should be independent of them.

I am well aware that difficulties lie in the way, especially in regard to stock, on account of depredations upon them now so common. But difficulties do not dispense with the necessity, for the necessity in this case overrides all difficulties. We cannot successfully raise the staples to buy them, then if we cannot do this, the only alternative is to raise them; for we cannot live without stock, and that to the extent necessary for subsistence. Such difficulties, however, will require greater care and watchfulness. But this will be greatly compensated by other facts. Among them is the fact that the labor of the African would be far more available in cultivating grain than in the culture of the staples, and, as a consequence, raising stock, thus furnishing subsistence for man and beast; while the cultivation of the staples requires not only more labor, but a more efficient labor. The necessity of greater care and watchfulness in saving, as well as in raising stock, would superinduce the necessity of pasture for them, and that to the necessity of enclosing them, and that to the explosion of the false and ruinous policy of *fencing* for purposes of cultivation. The consequences of all which would be the cultivation of numberless acres now untilled for want of the labor and capital necessary under the existing policy of enclosing them, yielding far more abundantly than those now cultivated but worn and exhausted, more shelter for stock of all descriptions; together with the introduction of those labor-saving implements and machinery which experience has tested and found to be useful, and which have increased the agricultural products of States employing them far beyond their increase of population, and which are entitled to our admiration for the skill and ingenuity they display, as well as entitled to our money for their practical utility; with an improved system of husbandry, vieing with that of the Romans when Columella directed the plough and the Mantuan Bard sung the praises of agricultural industry. In the saving of so many millions heretofore expended in labor and material for fencing, we shall find great aid for the successful inauguration of the new system or policy, for so much saved is so much made, as well as great compensation for the inefficient labor of the African, which we cannot fail to see, under the policy pursued since emancipation, has been getting more and more inefficient, but which, under the proposed policy, will be available and valuable and perhaps improved; for all labor to be efficient must be well fed. The question of fencing is one we *are forced* to consider, for existing fences will not answer their purposes much longer, and we cannot replace them. Prepare, then, for such necessity, and the changes it must superinduce.

Having shown that the policy proposed, upon the idea that we hope or expect to occupy the country, is of inexorable necessity—that it is the policy which the dictates of selfish interest, guided by an enlightened judgment, would support—and that if we were free to choose, it is the best, are we not authorized in saying he who doubts is a dotard, he who dallies is damned? But in a social and political aspect, as well as in a pecuniary or economic view, many

and powerful arguments, imperative as well as persuasive, may be addressed in favor of the proposed policy, as I shall now proceed to show.

In the first place we must remember we are in a *transition* state, resulting from social and political changes—the old giving way to the new that are destined to supersede them—that this is necessarily a period of great “error, uncertainty, confusion, and more or less of a wild and fierce fanaticism.” To this more than to any other cause, if not indeed more than all others combined, may be ascribed our deplorable condition of to-day, the calamitous events of the past few years, and the unsettled condition of the civilised world. For to-day civilised Europe is reposing, if repose it may be called, over a volcano threatening at any moment eruptions of the most serious and frightful character. Should a general war result, the financial disasters and commercial revulsions that are bound to occur there are sure to affect this country, and suppose the explosion of the banking system to result—by no means impossible—leaving only gold and silver as measures of values, the scenes of misery, destitution, want and suffering throughout the land would beggar description. Who can say such scenes will not be witnessed?—who shall say that a bale of cotton of this or the next crop may not be worth as little as in the terrible times through which we have but recently passed, when the best bale of cotton was not worth a good fat hog. Who could buy anything who did not have the gold and silver, and who will have the precious metals? And while cotton would be depressed, almost valueless, breadstuffs and provisions of every description would advance, for armies have the most rapacious maws, and people every where would go naked before they would starve. Now should we only be enabled to receive plenty, considering the scenes of strife and bloodshed through which we have passed so recently, we should in all probability find in a condition of plenty a condition of satisfaction, contentment, peace, the very condition the most desirable to us, for if it invites to ease and indolence, it takes away a great *temptation to crime*; but if mistaken as to the threatening aspect of the outside world, it is but too lamentably true *we are in the most imminent peril*; and without plenty, to a great extent our condition will be anything but contented and satisfied. And unless we raise plenty, we cannot get plenty—we cannot raise staples to any extent to supply plenty even at remunerating prices, owing to insufficient labor. We should lack the quantity when it comes to buying corn at fifteen hundred per cent. over the cost of production; for if you buy a bushel of corn in Illinois at ten cents, it costs you to get it here at least one dollar and a half. So that, whether we look to the outside world in its most favorable aspect or to ourselves, the policy proposed is the only policy for us.

But what is more, it matters not what may be the object or design of those who control the government of the United States whose dominion extends over us; the result of the government they

propose for us is the government by which Britain governs India, using the African for the purpose as Britain uses the Sepoy, either at the ballot or otherwise as necessity may suggest ; the result of which, if successful, must inevitably be to make us the equals of slaves, and slaves where we are equals, thus effecting our degradation. Now *want and destitution* tend to the degradation of any people, as all well know. A policy of raising the staples beyond our own wants, and as a trading instead of a merely incidental crop, is calculated to bring upon us want and destitution. All those who pursue such a policy as makes the cultivation of the staples any other than a subordinate object to grain growing and stock raising, which should be the paramount desire and all-engrossing object, are aiders and abettors in the work of our degradation. All too who desist from raising provisions from whatsoever cause, having it in their power to do so, are indirectly aiders and abettors in bringing about our degradation. It is through want and destitution following upon the devastations of war and misrule—terrible evils we are now experiencing—that despotsisms the most abject have become riveted upon the most beautiful and inviting portions of the earth. I am not unmindful of the fact, that to resist the threatened and terrible calamity, leading to an abandonment of all that is glorious in the past and hopeful in the future, requires the indomitable energy and pertinacity of a cast-iron people.

In the midst of the gloom, however, by which we are surrounded there is much for encouragement. As has been asked, Can anyone believe that the operation of causes, that have been already so graphically enumerated in tracing the causes that led to the Confederate failure, existing in inventions and discoveries of an earlier and more recent date in all the various departments of science, and which have been made so wonderfully subservient to the uses of civilised man, would have been allowed by an All-powerful and Beneficent Being, but for our *permanent* good instead of permanent evil ? Surely not ; and if not, as we cannot see how they can result in our permanent good unless we have good government, there is abundant cause for the hope that we shall at last have good government. And if God be for us who can stand against us ?

There is but one thing needed, in addition to what has been mentioned in favor of the policy advocated, to ensure its complete triumph and an assured deliverance ; while there is—there can be—but one argument against it, which will be shown to be unreal and delusive. The one thing needed is that our noble and fair countrywomen obtain, as speedily as possible, those labor-saving contrivances in all household departments so essential to a proper system of household economy, especially such articles as the Mendenhall Loom, upon which all, or nearly all, save the finer and more costly, fabrics can be woven. Who will be the first to purchase, by her own economy and good management, such an article ? Who will be the first to place such an instrumentality for earning a livelihood for herself and little ones in the hands of some one of the many deprived of a pro-

vider and support by the late cruel war? There are thousands whose hearts would leap with joy at such an act of, to them, munificent liberality, and would regard it as an act of exalted patriotism. The argument against the proposed policy is, that we can raise nothing but the staples to bring money into the country. That has ever been the cry. We made millions—millions! what became of it? It was not lost in the destruction of twenty hundred millions of slave property, for that cost originally but a pittance, centuries ago, when the ancestors of these Africans were sold to our ancestors, since which no money has gone out of the country to purchase that species of property—but it is gone. And if the old system were established to morrow, and the same policy pursued, the result would be the same, and the same cry would be heard. I admit they would bring money into the country; but it would go out as fast, if not faster, than it came in. Since the close of the last great struggle, if a fair estimate could be made, it would be shown that five to ten dollars, exhausted as the South was, has gone out of the country for breadstuffs to one that cotton has brought in. The error lies in looking at what one makes, and not at what one saves. To illustrate: if one makes five thousand dollars, and expends in the making four thousand eight hundred dollars, he has only two hundred dollars left. Now, if another makes only five hundred dollars, and expends in the making only two hundred dollars, it is evident that the last is one hundred dollars better off than the first in his income. There is in this no *hocus-pocus*. The success of every man depends almost wholly upon what he *saves*, not what he makes. The sooner this idea, that has so long had possession of the Southern mind, becomes exploded the better for us. This idea it is that has made staple regions the world over, and in all ages, the most destitute of monied capital, and explains that anomalous fact.

If then still we doubt, tell me where those countries that never produced a staple get their money? Where do the North-western States get their money? Illinois, for instance, where corn has been sold often for ten cents per bushel? What she got, although little, she retained; what we got, although much, we spent, and spent in paying, among other things, at the rate of fifteen hundred per cent. more than it cost her to produce it, and that much more than it would have cost us to have produced it. It must have been so; the cost there was ten cents; the cost when bought here one dollar and a half! And this difference in the material not on account of any enhanced value that labor, skill, and ingenuity impart to the article. The very highest value that labor, skill, and ingenuity can bestow upon a raw material—as, for example in converting iron into the main-spring of a watch, makes scarcely as great a difference in the values of the raw material and the manufactured article. I know the unjust and unequal operation of the government, not only through the system of taxation, in the collection and disbursements of the taxes, and in various ways beside, drained us of much which, if correctly estimated and placed before our eyes, would astound us;

but, taken in connection with our mistaken views and policy in regard to our industrial interests, we would say it was impossible any people could finally escape ruin and impoverishment, without the devastations of war.

Whatever might have been our chances in the past, there is now no hope of relief from such action of the government, shorn as we are of political power, *only* and *alone* by discontinuing the cultivation of the staples over and above our own wants, for it was on them, through the tariff and other monopolies, was thrown the burden which we are no longer able to bear; while in the adoption of the policy proposed, notwithstanding our inefficient labor at present, we shall find a wonderful improvement in our industrial interests, in other respects, and at once—such are our advantages in climate, soil and productions. If in this there be cause for regret, there is also cause for consolation; from this region of country never again will be drained millions to produce that plethora of capital in the North that was the *immediate* cause of the inauguration of the late great struggle, for notwithstanding the combined operation of errors tending to a result so calamitous, had not the millionaire capitalists of that section tendered the government millions for the purpose, in all human probability war might have been averted. Be that as it may, but for the plethora of capital then it could not have been prolonged on a scale so gigantic, and we, notwithstanding our blunders, might have triumphed.

I have examined this question earnestly and patiently, and the more so because I have noticed a strongly delusive idea that others will save us. For more than twenty years we were assured by politicians that the Northern wings of the parties to which they respectively belonged would save us. But, alas! to the conflicts of party succeeded the conflict of arms, and then we were assured foreign powers would save us. That having failed, we are assured Mr. Johnson will save us, and then the Democracy will save us. Mr. Johnson might have saved us, had he sanctioned the agreement of Sherman and Johnston, the only act of statesmanship from the beginning to the end of the struggle; but he did not. It was and is his sworn duty to preserve the Constitution, and if he had saved that he would have saved us. But he has not. On the contrary, measures which he has declared were plain and palpable violations of that Constitution he has sworn to support, and tending to our ruin and destruction, he is and has been enforcing. In saying this, I design no animadversion upon the character or conduct of the President. But I ask the people of the South to look at it, and they must see he cannot or he will not save them. As with him so it is with the people of the North, of whatever shade of opinion or political complexion—they could not if they would—they would not if they could. It is because “error, uncertainty, confusion, characterize the times, with more or less of wild and fierce fanaticism,” in addition to which factionists and fanatics rule the hour.

But what is worse, so many disappointments, so grievous and so

bitter are, as is so natural, producing bitter fruit. And amid the truly appalling difficulties and dangers by which we are surrounded we are beginning to look to the conflict of the races as their only solution.

The idea of the extinction of either race by slaughter is simply absurd. Outbreaks in the shape of mobs and riots may occur, and no doubt will. The policy of the Government of the United States, if persisted in, and no doubt it will be, is to govern this country as Britain governs India, using the negro here through the exercise of the ballot or otherwise for the purpose that Britain uses the Sepoy. Whenever the African obtains the ascendancy over all local tribunals, including jury boxes, etc., etc., self respect, self preservation will alike demand the *segregation* of the whites, leading to that of the blacks; and if this state of misrule and oppression continues, the entire and complete segregation of the races may result. To accomplish this successfully, the policy proposed is essential; and if not successfully accomplished, the results *to the whites will be far more fatal and disastrous than to the blacks*; as when in the course of these reflections I come to treat of the probable consequences of the late great struggle in regard to the African and in regard to the Government of the United States, I expect to be able to show. Whatever may be the difference in motive and intent between the staple growers and those bad men who seek to place their own race in subordination to, or on an equality with, the African, there is no difference as to the result which policy is pursued. But in addition to all that has been said, all questions of state policy at home must necessarily, sooner or later, to a greater or less extent, conform to some idea of economic interest. Of these works on political economy treat, and of these the antagonism of tariff and other monopolies to free trade, as illustrated in our own country, furnish examples. And although the Confederate undertaking has failed politically, it has successfully accomplished an economic and industrial revolution. If we mean to save ourselves—if we mean to occupy the country, *now* is the time, and by the adoption of the policy proposed let us *reconstruct* in regard to our own industrial interests; this is the reconstruction that is essential to and will ensure our political existence, and will do it whether our representatives be in Congress or out of Congress.

But in addition to all that has been advanced in favor of the policy proposed in its economic, social and political aspects, there are considerations that appeal to the heart as potential as those that appeal to the head. All over this grief-stricken land, presenting a picture like Rachel mourning for her children, there are so many little ones who have been deprived of a provider and have no one to ask for bread—so many women destitute, not only of subsistence but of the means of obtaining subsistence, rendered so by the late cruel war, but whose miseries and sufferings by the adoption of the policy proposed would be so much mitigated, if not entirely relieved. Weak indeed is the intellect that cannot perceive the justice and the full measure

of the obligations thus imposed. Bad indeed is the heart that will not respond to obligations so sacred before God and posterity. None such could look with unblanched cheeks upon those grim-visaged warriors constituting that noble army of martyrs and heroes who have fought their last battle and sleep their last sleep, could they come back to us. How could they, having proved false to the dead as well as to the living, and ignored obligations that seem to demand the retribution of the Almighty ! Could the voice of the mighty dead be heard to-day, trumpet-tongued it would proclaim to us that a land worth fighting for is a land worth *working* for ! that the land which holds in its bosom the ashes of Washington, and whose soil is mingled with the dust of so many heroes, is such a land !

In tracing the probable consequences of the late great struggle in regard to the African, I shall show the only possible hope of preserving our *social* status ; our *political* existence consists in the *segregation* of the races. It must begin when the new order of things shall give the African control of all local tribunals, and from those localities. The disturbances then likely to occur will be the prelude to the segregation of the races, or to the rule of the so-called Republics of Mexico and South America. In the beginning we may see the end.

ART. V.—CONSERVATISM.

THE efficacy of zeal in promoting success is displayed in nothing more conspicuously than in the struggles of political factions. Not that the truth is in the least degree more complete in these cases, but that it is more completely manifested in the wonderful manner in which, all through the history of legislation, parties, at first of insignificant proportions, but actuated by an intensity of fervor, have eventually achieved their ends against tremendous, yet indolent, prejudices.

This fact would seem to establish that fanaticism, which is perverted, intemperate zeal, would be invariably successful in its designs, and therefore, since it is in its very nature destructive, it would long since have wrought the ruin of society. But it should be remembered that, through the mercy of Providence, all final triumphs have been the triumphs of truth ; and fanaticism, wherever it has achieved temporarily great crowning success, has produced the logical results of its nature in disaster and calamity, which, in the wisdom of the divine economy, have driven the mass of mankind, with powerful reaction, back within the limits of reason and moderation.

The cause of revolutionary violence is to be found in the unhappy tendency of our nature to exaggerate principles, which in themselves considered, and confined in application within proper limits, may be conducive to the welfare of mankind. On this account truth has a double battle to fight ; on the one hand, against an ancient, venerable,

deeply-rooted abuse ; and on the other, against the violence and anarchical tendency of extreme opinions.

This fact explains the apparently strange phenomenon that the real friends of progress are often seen, with front reversed, contending against the elements of advance. And this, which is so often leveled at them as a reproach, constitutes actually their crowning glory, from the additional consideration that, on account of the tremendous forces, moral and physical, which are engaged in forwarding the interests of mankind, and the feverish excitement of reform which everywhere prevails, the greater danger lies in the latter than in the former direction. Just because mankind are possessed of greater intellectual power, and are more impressed with the obligations of those great duties owed to the race at large, the danger is greater to society from the perversions and excesses of those sentiments, which carry into the political arena incentives and sanctions, the most powerful of which our nature is susceptible, derived from morality and religion.

In these times, then, the chief task and abiding obligation of those real friends of progress, who can look beyond present issues, and separate themselves from temporary prejudices, are the guiding, directing, and restraining of those mighty energies, which, whenever in the history of the world they have escaped control, have wrought such fearful ends. This is the scope of true, conservative, political philosophy. It is not, as is calumniously reported by its enemies, wedded to past abuse ; nor, as some of the more zealous even among its advocates suppose, too slothful and inactive. It is enamored of old institutions just so far as is sufficient to prevent its perception of their evils from overcoming its sense of the good they possess ; and it entertains a dislike of innovation only so far as is consistent with a suspicious watchfulness of the germ of disorder which all such measures more or less contain. It is vigorous, active, and progressive ; and at the same time calm, prudent, and discriminating.

These ideas are illustrated on a large scale by the full, enlightened, stable liberty, which the English people enjoy, among whom Radicalism has never been able to clothe itself with any degree of dignity in public estimation, and whose continuous reforms, through generations and centuries, have been adopted only after rigid, careful scrutiny, and under the peaceful hand of a restraining, but not opposing, conservatism.

The exceedingly liberal estimation of the character of Radicalism, which is implied in these views, accords to it a full degree of importance in promoting the political and social interests of mankind. It seems that the inception of all great reforming enterprises requires the eagerness and daring of the spirit ; and all through the stages of such a movement, its untiring zeal and restless activity are subordinated and governed by the great, calm, leading minds of an epoch to the furtherance of a complete and successful issue. The danger commences, when, after all the rational ends of a policy have been reached, this spirit, heated by the exercise of its own energies, and flushed with triumph, pushes on in pursuit of those irregular aims which its

wild philosophy possesses. At this point it becomes incumbent upon the true friends of mankind to pause in their career, and to struggle against the elements which they themselves may have been at first instrumental in raising.

It is fortunate for a nation, when in its political vicissitudes this reactionary point is indicated and defined by some great, crowning event, which marks the proper end of the movement so decidedly, and points the danger of further innovation so clearly, that the great mass of the people, satisfied with what has been accomplished, may together be impressed with the vital importance of arraying themselves on the side of moderation. In modern times, in the great epochs which have been distinguished by the extremes of revolutionary violence, it is to be observed, that, on account of the absence of any such era, those men, at first advocates of reform, who strove at different stages of its progress to arrest its excesses, fruitlessly expended, in disconnected efforts, energies, which, if exerted at any one time in a simultaneous opposition, might have prevented the fatal results which followed. The central party, from the first completely possessed with the revolutionary idea, enjoyed the advantage of a fixedness of aim, a unity of purpose, and an intensity of zeal, which enabled them to overwhelm in detail those who, from time to time, stood out in desultory opposition. They possessed, too, an additional paramount advantage in this, that they moved in the direction of the great currents of thought and feeling in the times, and that all the fixed facts of the revolution, so far established, operated in their favor and against their opponents. This circumstance explains a fact, which is always shown by subsequent criticism, that a reaction in fact has never been contemporaneous with a reaction in thought, but that events have invariably hurried on beyond a general change in the convictions of the people. Hence, too the greater violence of the culminating acts of a revolution, and the suddenness of its catastrophe, because of the increasing desperation of those resorts to which a party, holding still the forms, although continually losing the essence of authority, will be necessarily driven in order to a maintenance of their power.

The lesson from history on this subject is complete and full of instruction. The two most memorable instances in modern times will suffice.

In the great struggle in England between the Crown and Parliament, it is instructive to observe how many of the earnest advocates of constitutional liberty were compelled to lament, from time to time at different periods of the revolution, the disappointment of their hopes, and to deprecate in vain that increasing violence which it required in the end the strong hand of Oliver Cromwell to arrest. The latter part of his career was employed in restraining the excesses of his own party, and repeatedly in his speeches he alleges this as the justification and the strong necessity of his assuming the reins of government.

In the French Revolution, the Jacobins, of obscure origin, and at

first of contemptible proportions, by dint of tremendous zeal and activity, eventually domineered the whole of France, overthrowing, one by one, those from La Fayette to Danton, who, at first advocates of the movement, turned themselves at different periods in vain and desultory attempts to stay its excesses. No one can fail to be struck by the retributive justice, which so peculiarly devoted these men as victims to the passions which they had been mainly instrumental in kindling, and, in many and influential cases, by means of the very political machinery which their hands had actually constructed.

These considerations, supported by such historical instances, are full of warning to the people of our country at this crisis of our affairs. The war has destroyed an institution which disturbed our harmony, and has determined many great political questions which continually threatened our peace. It now remains to be decided, whether we shall reap the fruits of the struggle in increased security to our form of government, or whether, driven into the blind turbulence of extreme revolution, we shall lose perhaps all that our forefathers established for us.

The signs of the times are sufficiently inauspicious to awaken grave apprehensions. A fanatical party in our midst, actuated by a zeal wrought to fearful intensity by supposed moral and religious sanctions, terribly earnest in its mistaken convictions, daringly unscrupulous in the means it employs, is pushing on beyond all the national ends of a policy which could hitherto command the concurrence of many of our most enlightened minds to conclusions which, if attained, must inevitably work the ruin of the country. It enjoys the paramount advantages of unity and fixedness of purpose; it is completely organized under daring leaders, who, by superior strength of will, are able to subordinate to a practical concurrence in their designs the vacillating members of their party against their doubts, and in many and important cases even in opposition to their spoken convictions; and it moves with a momentum which, in the recent struggle to preserve the government, the efforts of the great irresistible mass of the people served to communicate.

Even at present, notwithstanding the reaction indicated by the recent elections, the political situation is calculated to awaken as much of apprehension as of hope. A majority of the entire nation has always been opposed to the radical party, even though the negroes are thrown into their scale in estimating the account. But the whites of the South, fighting singly, and on an issue which lost them the support of their natural allies, the Conservatives of the North, have been beaten and paralyzed, and are henceforth lost to the conflict. At the close of the war the crisis was distinctly marked by the complete accomplishment of all the rational ends of the movement; and great minds of clear perception, resolute purpose, and sincere patriotism, pointed the dangers of further innovation. The popular indignation, however, excited against the South on account of their effort to destroy the government; and the fact, that their actual exclusion and military conquest threw the onus upon those who, on whatever

grounds of right and justice, advocated a restoration of the Union, enabled the Radicals to overthrow the Conservatives, notwithstanding the accession to their ranks of the comparatively few of calmer thought, who perceived the danger as yet afar off. The current of feeling still in their favor, and the fixed facts of the revolution, so far established, such as the prostration of the South, gave them again the victory. Since then, various causes, the gradual subsidence on the passions engendered by the war, an increasing sense of danger, hostility to some of the particular measures of the dominant party, a spirit of dissatisfaction on account of the continued unsettled condition of the country, and a returning devotion to the fixed principles of the government, are at last arraying, if they have not already arrayed, a majority of the northern people on the side of moderation. But the ruling minority has used the interval to signal and terrible effect. By the most daring and tremendous political artifice recorded in the annals of modern nations, they are about possessing themselves of the entire enormous influence of the section they have conquered. This perfectly unenlightened constituency are under the control of the power that called it into being, to be moulded to its will, and to obey its behests, with a blindness of devotion never equalled in partisan history; and it has been made proportional in force and value to the entire number of the people of the States, which, in such dangerous mockery, it pretends to represent. Moreover, this party holds, with overwhelming majority, the most potent branch of the government by a tenure that cannot be shaken for several years, whatever change in the public sentiment may in the meantime occur. They have also inaugurated, and have resolutely acted upon, the policy of excluding, not only dissentient individuals, but whole delegations representing entire States, from all participation in their proceedings. They are loudly threatening to subordinate forcibly to their will the co-ordinate branches of the government; and, with indications not to be mistaken, are turning their eyes, greedy with the lust of dominion, to other States, for the mastery of which, it is to be feared, they will not, in the plenitude of their usurped authority, need the worn out pretexts of the past. We venture no prediction, but it is certainly a grave question, soon to be determined, whether the Conservatives of the North are not destined again to be overthrown in their tardy and desultory opposition. Daring minorities, much smaller and under less favorable circumstances, have accomplished ends equally as great in the history of the world. Certainly it cannot be denied, that at present the peace of the nation depends principally upon whatever forbearance, in deference to the expressed will of the people, may be shown by the representations of the Radical party, who are now holding in their hands the reins of the government.

E. B. SEABROOK.

ART. VI.—MEMORIES OF THE WAR.

THE word refugee came to be a very frequent one during the war, and many sad memories clung to it long afterwards. We had read and heard before of such unfortunate persons, seeking or being driven into exile for political reasons, or on account of war, and had seen them in our midst—Poles, Hungarians, and Greeks; but when the reality came home to us, however, and the fate of these poor exiles became ours, it was discovered how little had been appreciated of their sorrows and sufferings, and the regret was general that we had not done much to alleviate them.

Surrounded at home with all the comforts and joys which spring from the relation of family and friends, blessed with ample means and liberal possessions in a country enjoying social repose and civil order, it is impossible for any to appreciate the condition of the homeless and houseless wanderer who, having abandoned every thing, is thrown upon the cold charities of the world. Thousands and thousands of families of the South voluntarily encountered this hard fate, but never hesitated a moment in meeting it with fortitude when driven to it from the stern necessities of the war as it was practised by the enemy. From the valley of Virginia, the sea coast of Carolina and Georgia; from the banks of the Mississippi, from Nashville, New Orleans and Memphis, from Northern Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, from Atlanta, the crowds compacted more and more into the interior, enduring every privation and hardship rather than make a sacrifice of principle and become recreant to the cause which they had embraced. Men and women of princely estates abandoned every thing, and rejoiced in the act at the call of duty, and left their fair possessions to be devastated and plundered by the enemy. Better poverty and exile than the infamy of desertion; and these were not alone among the number of those who had favored the separation, but embraced every class of the community. It was an evidence of the sublime attributes which belong to patriotism in its hour of greatest trial.

Among the saddest cases presented were those who fled on the first successes of the enemy from the coasts and islands of South Carolina, and those who were driven out of New Orleans by his imperious decrees. In both of these classes I had many dear friends and very near relatives, and was a personal witness of much that happened. A refugee myself, my associations and friendships were for the most part with this class of persons during all the bitter experiences of the war. In the rapidity of their flight, those from the coasts and islands literally saved of their great possessions little more than they could carry upon their persons or in a few trunks. Every thing else, splendid residences, costly and luxurious furniture, plate, equipages, pictures, libraries, were left to the tender mercies of hostile soldiery and brutalized negroes. In a moment rich planta-

tions, the product of generations of industry, became scenes of riot and profligacy ; and towns and villages which had boasted the highest and most exquisite civilization, were converted into Pandemoniums. Those elegant, refined, cultivated and hospitable people who had adorned this region were scattered and gone, it was almost impossible to tell where. You found them in every part of the interior, crowding its villages and farm houses, and constituting every where a distinct people, enduring want, suffering without complaint, and shrinking not from toils and labors even of the most menial character. The aged or infirm sunk under the severe ordeal, but those who survived it had acquired harder virtues, and in their interminglings with classes new to them, learned much that was valuable to them in the future. The barriers which had separated the mountains and the seaboard were removed. Friendships and marriages were formed, and the state of society was entirely changed. The relations thus formed can never be forgotten.

The refugees from New Orleans have a noble record. Required to take the oath of allegiance to a power they had renounced, or to record themselves as alien enemies and file a schedule of their property with the authorities, with the probability of forfeiture and imprisonment, their decision was prompt and manly, and won the admiration of the enemy ; and when the order came at last to abandon all with only their necessary baggage, thousands prepared to obey it on the shortest notice. They were landed in dense crowds, men, women and children, on an almost uninhabitable spot forty miles from Mobile, and the charities of the country were exhausted to bring them food and provide for their wants. Among the number were families who had left vast possessions behind.

At the beginning of the war the condition of refugees was much better than it afterwards became. When the number were few and the country was prosperous they were caressed and *feted*, and in every way honored and served, but after a while this ceased. It was found that the wants of so many could not be supplied, and many grew callous and hardened. The refugees increased the existing scarcity, and poor human nature resented the unintentional wrong. Perhaps, too, the exactions of this class were sometimes more than they should have been, and unworthy persons would of course be among their number. The result of this was that people at last, between Scylla and Charybdis, the enemy or exile, chose the former, and it came to be very much less frequent to abandon homes and possessions. Those who remained, it was discovered, were enabled to some extent to protect their property, and could, at all events, eke out an existence, which was better than the uncertainty of refugeeism. Though there were every where people who practised extortion upon the poor exiles, and lived upon their necessities, there were thousands who persistently refused to do so, and I was cognizant of many noble examples of people who ministered to their wants and supplied them in every way, furnishing them with homes, refusing even one cent of remuneration. These were the salt of the land, and had this class been more numerous, the cause would have prospered better.

Still it must be said of the people of the Confederacy, that the general rule was benevolence and charity. Everybody was to give, and give freely, when actual cases of suffering were presented. Every family brought forth its supplies, and poured them out. Every village, town and state made liberal provision for the families of poor soldiers, and societies for their relief and for ministering to the sick and wounded included nearly every body in their ranks. Subscription lists did not want signatures, and the largest amounts were raised in the briefest possible time for all worthy objects. Appeals, though frequent, were never unheeded; and cases of suffering were greatest among those who were too proud to accept relief. I was acquainted with many such noble souls, and knew of the secret penury and want which they endured. Their case became at last so deplorable that they were forced to receive help from the hands of the Federal Government, which, after the surrender, provided for the pressing wants of hundreds of thousands of our people.

ART. VII.—THE LEVEES OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

THE NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF REBUILDING AND REPAIRING THE LEVEES ON THE MISSISSIPPI, SHOWING THE IMPORTANCE TO THE WHOLE COUNTRY, COMMERCIALLY AND FINANCIALLY, OF RESTORING, AS SPEEDILY AS POSSIBLE, THE LANDS IN THE STATE OF LOUISIANA, OVERFLOWED IN 1863, 1866 AND 1867, BY REBUILDING AND REPAIRING THE LEVEES ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSISSIPPI, AND TRIBUTARY STREAMS WITHIN THAT STATE.

The report of Major General Gillem representing the present condition of the freedmen and the planters in his district and their future prospects, fore-shadowing certain famine and predicting probable collisions between the races has led to an earnest conference between Gens. Grant and Howard, for the purpose of suggesting to Congress measures to avert the impending starvation and peril. It is understood that among other plans of relief it has been proposed to advance thirty millions of dollars to the planters, secured by lien on land and crops, but the season of preparation is rapidly passing and before a bill covering such an appropriation can be carried through Congress it will be too late to accomplish much good.

It has occurred to us that a wise and useful expenditure of the public funds can be made, and much of the threatened suffering obviated by using the unemployed freedmen in Louisiana and Mississippi in the important work of rebuilding permanently the levees of the Mississippi. An appropriation of six or eight millions secured by a pledge of the swamp lands belonging to the State of Louisiana, which are very valuable, would ensure the completion of this great work, and would, under energetic contractors, limited with regard to time, give employment to thousands of freedmen and relieve the suffering planter from the swarms of thieves and predators who despoil his corn-bins and carry off or destroy his stock.

The work should by all means be given out by contract; otherwise it will be superintended by the agents and officers of the Freedman's Bureau, and

be converted by them into a gigantic swindle. It would be better for all parties if no agency of this pernicious institution was allowed within fifty miles of the scene of operations. It works mischief wherever it is established, and has defeated by its malign influences every effort of the planter to revive the broken fortunes of the South. We trust that no scheme for the relief of our people will include the administration of its offices and benefits by the swarm of hungry cormorants who are fattening upon the distress and destitution of the South, and who if left to themselves would perpetuate disorders upon which they thrive.

With regard to the national necessity of the proposed work no better arguments can be presented than those embodied in the "Memorial to Congress," placed before that body by the levee commissioners of the State of Louisiana, over a year ago, which we give below. Unless something is speedily done to encourage the growth of exportable products our importations must in a great measure cease, or the country be drained of its specie. Should our import trade materially slacken, the Government will become a purchaser of coin to meet its interest, and if it be maintained, exhaustive shipments of gold must follow, and widespread ruin and disaster will wreck our commercial and financial prosperity.—**EDITORS REVIEW.**

AMONG the many subjects requiring legislation on the part of Congress, there is none more intimately affecting the interest of the whole people of the United States, than that of the levees on the banks of the Mississippi and other rivers in the State of Louisiana, by which the alluvial lands on their borders have heretofore been protected from annual inundation, and on which a large portion of the crops of cotton, sugar and rice, produced in the United States have heretofore been grown, but which, owing to the dilapidated condition of these levees, have been for the last five years annually inundated to such an extent as to render a great portion of them not only uncultivable, but also uninhabitable for at least a portion of each year. By a statement made to the present Congress,* it is shown that two breaks in those levees on the banks of the Mississippi, known as the Chinn and Robertson crevasses, (a short distance above Baton Rouge,) caused the overflow of a district of country of about fifty miles in width and about one hundred miles in length. This large tract of country, the most fertile in the State, was submerged during the last year for several months, so that the crops thereon were entirely destroyed, besides the great loss of cattle and other property. The value of crops destroyed within that district, may be safely estimated at thirty millions of dollars.

Few persons, unacquainted with the topography of the country through which the Mississippi flows to the ocean, can form any adequate idea of the destructive character of a single break or crevass in the levee. For more than one thousand miles from the sea, the highest cultivable land on the borders of that river is found immediately upon its banks. During the annual floods the water is from twelve to eighteen feet higher than the adjoining lands, the river

* See Vol. III., April and May Nos. of the Review for 1867, p. 459.

being kept within its channel by artificial embankments, called levees, which is the same with all the cultivable lands on the outlets from that river, of which there are a great many at greater or less distances apart, such as the Atchafalaya, the Lafourche, the Manchac and others, forming a system of basins of many hundred square miles in extent. A single break of a hundred yards in width in any one of the levees surrounding such basins, will cause the overflow of all the land within it, destroying everything in the shape of crops on the land overflowed.

By the statement already alluded to it is conclusively shown that more than one half of the cultivable land in the State of Louisiana is liable to be submerged; and during the floods of 1865 and 1866 were so.

These levees were originally built and kept in repair by the owners of the lands themselves, that being one of the conditions on which the lands were granted to settlers by the French and Spanish governments; the subsequent settlement and cultivation of the country, and the liability of the levees in some portions of it to be periodically swept away by the operations of the river, and the system itself becoming too gigantic for individual enterprise, the state authorities of Mississippi and Louisiana, made portions of them a matter of state concern, and annually made large appropriations to keep up the levees in such portions of those states in which keeping up the levees became too unwieldy to be kept up and controlled by individuals; in other districts the keeping up of the levees remains a charge upon the individual proprietors of the lands fronting on the river. Had not the late unfortunate attempt on the part of the people of the southern states been made to break up the Union, and the war consequent thereon not taken place, perhaps the system heretofore prevailing might still imperfectly serve its purpose, which immediately prior thereto had been carried to the farthest possible extent; of this it is, however, now useless to speculate, the facts as they now exist are before the country, and with them alone the country has to deal.

The losses to the people consequent upon the war and the destruction of slavery have left the proprietors of the lands in a pecuniary condition to forbid anything being expected from individual exertion in keeping up an extensive levee system for the future. It is not the people alone residing within their limits, but the whole people of the United States who are interested in them, and the future condition and prosperity of the freedmen, whose very existence is dependent on the cultivability of these lands. Thousands of these people are looking forward with the hope to make contracts to work on shares on the coming crops, but will not be able or inclined to make arrangements to this end, unless satisfied that their labor will be protected from the direful calamity of an overflow, and their means and work of months swept away in a few moments, by the relentless waters breaking through the feeble levees, or temporary barriers.

The product peculiar to a great portion of the country protected by these levees, is sugar—grown scarcely anywhere else in the United States. These lands in Louisiana, always have been, and always will be, confined to the cultivation of sugar. Prior to the war this section of Louisiana produced nearly all the sugar and molasses consumed in this country; but now it is rendered uncultivable by the overflow of 1865 and 1866, those products have to be imported, at a cost to the country of many millions of dollars annually.

A sound political economy requires that everything consumed within a country should be raised by its people, provided, that the same can be done at a less cost than something else raised therein can be exchanged for it. It is hardly necessary to argue that if sugar, rice, etc., can be produced in Louisiana at a cheaper rate than any other thing produced in this country can be carried abroad and exchanged for these articles, it is to the greatest interest to the country that sugar, rice, etc., should be produced at home.

The more diversified the production of a country can be made, the more independent and powerful that country becomes, as the products of one section then become exchangeable for those of a different kind produced in another, and a home market is thus produced by each, and international commerce is thus created, giving life and energy to each section, by which the expense and risks of foreign importations are avoided; again, under the present revenue system, made necessary by the existence of our national debt, it is a matter of national importance that every species of agriculture which can be made to yield anything which will assist in increasing the national income, should be encouraged, more particularly when such articles are of a kind largely consumed at home, and which otherwise can only be procured by means of foreign importation. Of the capacity of that portion of Louisiana submerged during the last few years, and constantly liable to be so, in the production of sugar, it is not necessary to say anything beyond asserting the simple fact—that during the year 1860, about five hundred thousand hogsheads, averaging one thousand pounds each, or five hundred million pounds of sugar were produced, which, at the present minimum value of ten cents per pound, would produce the enormous sum of fifty million dollars.

The cultivation and manufacture of that sugar, also, at the same time produced an average of seventy gallons of molasses to each hogshead of sugar, making the enormous quantity of thirty-five millions of gallons, which at the present minimum value of sixty cents per gallon, would produce the sum of twenty-one million dollars. At the present rate, the internal revenue duty of one cent per pound on sugar, and three cents per gallon on molasses, would yield six million and fifty thousand dollars, annually, to the treasury, from the cultivation of the article of sugar alone. This is, of itself, certainly, a sufficient reason to make it not only desirable, but imperatively necessary that that branch of domestic industry should be

restored as speedily as possible; not to say anything of the fact, that the same articles of sugar and molasses are at this time extensively consumed in this country as they were then, and that the same quantity has to be annually imported from abroad, and this comes to the consumer burdened with all the cost and charges incident to foreign importations.

Again, the portion of Louisiana overflowed in 1865 and 1866, or at least a large portion of it, is also well adapted to the cultivation of rice, an immense quantity of which is annually consumed in the United States, nearly the whole of which is now imported from abroad.

The cultivation of sugar, according to all methods yet discovered, requires large plantations and extensive, as well as expensive, machinery, involving an outlay of large capital in each establishment. The cultivation of rice, on the contrary, may be engaged in by persons of small or almost no capital, at the option of the farmer, and when matured may be cut and stacked like other cereals, to be threshed as wanted; whilst sugar-cane must be immediately ground up as it is cut, and carried from the field, or be irretrievably lost to the grower.

Among the other agricultural products of the land, of the Southern States, subject to overflow, is cotton. The statistics of the area thus liable to be submerged not being at hand, it is sufficient to give a general idea by stating that it extends from the mouth of the Red River up the Mississippi on both banks, a distance of about one thousand miles, having a mean breadth of at least three miles on each bank, thus giving an area of six thousand square miles. This land being entirely of alluvial formation, is of the most productive quality on the face of the globe, readily growing one bale of cotton per acre, which is an under, instead of an over, estimate, as may be readily seen from an examination of its statistics as contained in the census returns of 1860. The quantity of that staple which can be produced in that area (were the whole successfully protected from overflow and brought into cultivation) may be easily estimated. Of that portion of those lands situated in Louisiana subject to overflow, the statistics of 1860, as set forth in the memorial addressed to Congress by the levee commissioners already averted to, show that in 1860 there was produced in thirty-six parishes liable to be inundated, either wholly or in part, five hundred and thirty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty-two bales, averaging four hundred pounds per bale, or two hundred and fifteen million three hundred and twenty-six thousand pounds, being about one-tenth of the entire cotton crop of the United States produced in that year, which at twenty-five cents per pound, a low estimate at present prices, would give a value of \$53,031,322 50, and yield an internal revenue at the present rate of three cents per pound, of six million four hundred and fifty-nine thousand seven hundred and eighty dollars on that article alone. The cotton produced in the immediate neighborhood being of the finest quality, has always borne the highest prices both in the domestic and foreign markets.

Thus it will be seen that the *internal revenue*, which the government will receive, should the country be protected from overflow, by repairing and rebuilding the levees, would be, on sugar, \$5,000,000; on molasses, \$1,050,000; on cotton, \$6,459,780; *making a total of \$12,509,780.*

Although the price of this great staple has undoubtedly been affected by the great production of it in all countries outside of the United States, where it will grow, by the effects of the partial cessation of its cultivation in the Southern States consequent upon the war to put down the rebellion, and the monopoly which the United States enjoyed for the sale of it in the markets of the world, and will undoubtedly still be somewhat influenced upon the production of a full crop in this country, yet that monopoly will be most speedily regained, as it is an infallible law of commerce that the inferior invariably gives way to the superior article, whenever the superior becomes of sufficient abundance to be brought into competition with the inferior in cheapness of price; hence the consumption of rye, oats and beans as breadstuffs, has almost ceased throughout the world, since the production of wheat has been stimulated to such an extent as to bring bread made from wheat within the reach of all. So soon therefore as the cotton of the United States, which is acknowledged by all engaged in its manufacture throughout the entire world, to be the finest article of the kind produced anywhere, becomes again cultivated to a sufficient extent to supply the demand (even partially), the inferior cottons of the other portions of the world will recede in price to such an extent as again in a very short time to restore this lost monopoly, and thus prove the most powerful engine in the speedy elevation and advancement of that race now in a state of freedom, the product of whose agricultural labor, whilst they were slaves, governed the commerce of the globe.

It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that as soon as the lands of Louisiana can again be protected from inundation, that a large portion of its population, particularly the emancipated black, will engage in the cultivation of that article which commands such remunerating price, and which can be produced with so small an outlay of capital. Aside from the production of these two articles which constitute so large a portion of our foreign importation, in the payment for which such large sums must annually leave the country and the deprivation of revenue from their not being produced at home, the inability of the inhabitants of the submerged districts to produce the article of prime necessity on the lands inhabited by them, and the consequent necessity of their abandonment in case the levees are not restored and the overflows prevented, presents a case which appeals not only to the justice, but also to the humanity of the national legislature.

J. MADISON WELLS,

Governor of Louisiana.

WM. W. PUGH,

F. M. GOODRICH,

W. D. WINTER,

CHAS. IZARD,

E. H. ANGAMAR,

Commissioners.

ART. VIII.—RECOLLECTIONS OF MEXICO; OR, ROAD AND MOUNTAIN.

(Continued from January Number.)

THE PARTY GAIN THE OPEN COUNTRY—FRANCISCO WOULD NOT ACCEPT HIS DISMISSAL—HE FINDS AN ATTRACTIVE HALTING PLACE, AND BECOMES THE GUEST OF MIKE, THE DOCTOR'S HENCHMAN, WHO RELATED AN ACCOUNT OF A VISIT HE PAID TO PRINCE ALBERT'S MODEL FARM—MIKE AND THE PHILOSOPHER ENTER INTO A CHARACTERISTIC DIALOGUE—MIKE ENQUIRES THE USE OF THE BAROMETER, AND IS TOLD IT IS A WEATHER-COCK—HOSTILITY TO ENGLAND.

CHAPTER V.

WE were not long in gaining the open country through which ran the road to Chulula. It was thickly bordered with the pulque plant, which generally forms an impenetrable hedge, wherever planted. In many places it was shaded with trees, and its soft, even surface thickly covered with dust, made an agreeable exchange for the rough, hard paths of the foot-hills.

Here I intimated to Francisco, that as the road was plain, and known to some of the men, we stood in no further need of his valuable services. The philosophy with which we had invested our "fat friend" seemed almost to forsake him on hearing this announcement. His broad face, which fell to zero in a moment, assumed a most dolorous expression, the eyes resting lingeringly on sundry hams and fowls with which one of the mules was loaded, while his tongue poured out a torrent of explanations regarding the orders he had received from Antonio, to see us safe to Chulula, not to leave us on any account until that important undertaking had been accomplished, but finally winding up by begging of me not to dismiss him until we got to Chulula, as he had an aged mother living there whom he had not seen for twelve months. Of course I could not deprive so dutiful a son the satisfaction of beholding his venerated parent. To disappoint him in an object so praiseworthy was not to be thought of. He thanked me with a bow that would have done credit to a grandee of the first rank, and forthwith rode forward to find a halting place, which he assured us we should find shady and agreeable. I afterwards discovered that the aged parent was the fanciful creation of this worthy's fertile brain, conjured up for the occasion. Half an hour afterwards, we found him waiting for us on the side of the road, when he led us to a stream, on the bank of which grew a tall conspicuous tree, the same in fact—at least so the party insisted—that we had noticed in ascending Popocatepetl. Whatever doubts we might have entertained of his capacity in guiding us over the foot hills, he certainly left us no room for doubting his judgment in selecting a resting place. The spreading branches of the tall tree afforded complete shade from the burning rays of the noonday sun, and the stream on whose banks we halted supplied us with water

which required no icing to render it refreshing, having parted company but a short time before with the glaciers of the mountain.

A copious shower of rain had fallen, consigning to rest the active and blinding dust, which is no inconsiderable drawback to one's comfort while traveling on the elevated plains of Mexico. It was the *avant-courre^{ur}* heralding the early approach of the rainy season. The flowers raised their drooping heads to greet the plentiful moisture, and as the gentle zephyrs played amid the slender stems, they waved their bright crests, studded with crystal rain drops sparkling like diamonds in the sun, as if in pride at their adornment. Beautiful birds flew happily from branch to branch, caroling in gratitude to a beneficent providence. The foliage copiously drenched by the fructifying shower, vied with the emerald in verdancy, glowing radiantly through the crystal drops which fondly clung to the no longer drooping leaves. All nature seemed refreshed, and thankfully put on its brightest smiles accordingly.

Amid these attractive surroundings, we partook of a repast, rendered by the mountain air appetizing to a degree, after which the party lapsed into that dreamy state of repose, engendered by the combined influence of the meal and the fumes of the solacing pipe, which might be denominated as neither sleeping nor waking.

I was beginning to fall into this semi-unconscious state, when aroused by a hearty burst of laughter from the neighborhood of the fire we had lighted for the purpose of cooking. Shaking off the drowsiness, I proceeded a short distance down the bank of the stream, where I found the Doctor's henchman, Mr. Michael O'Riely by name, doing the honors of the table with evident satisfaction to himself. When I say table, I use no metaphor, for a table it was beyond doubt, he having discovered a few boards on the bank of the stream, with the aid of which, and some stones, he contrived a commodious but somewhat rickety platform, on which was placed a goodly supply of eatables. Opposite to him, sole and honored guest, sat that worthy philosopher, Francisco.

O'Riely, or Mike, as he was usually called, was not a bad specimen of "the finest peasantry in the world." Somewhat above the ordinary height, of fair complexion, with a bright but soft blue eye when in repose; under excitement, however, it lit up with a fire, strongly indicative of what his countrymen call the devil. His features were pleasing, and displayed much more regularity than is generally found in the Irish peasant. They indicated a degree of intelligence too strangely at variance with the rude idiom in which he spoke. He bore a strong resemblance to the Doctor, not so much in his physique as he did in his manner and bearing, which were so much alike that they attracted the notice of the party before he was twenty-four hours in our company. He had picked up in his various foraging expeditions sufficient Spanish to convey his views tolerably well. These expeditions, according to Mr. O'Riely's own statement, were sometimes so frequent and harassing as to "wear the very flesh off of his bones."

Francisco, on the other hand, spoke English remarkably well—an acquisition very unusual in Mexicans of his class.

They were, therefore, at no loss for a medium to make known their wants.

"Faith, it's a fine spatide ye have intirely, Francisco, me bochel," observed Mike, eyeing him with evident satisfaction. "Begor, it's refreshin' to see ye ate. The devil yer likes I've seen since I paid six pence to see a chap in Liverpool ate twenty pounds iv a leg of mutton, a half a stone of potaties, and drink two gallons of beer they call 'alf and 'alf."

Francisco, his mouth full, his face glowing like a full moon, the combined effects of heat and food, raised the fat lids of his eyes in astonishment and admiration at a feat so genial to his nature, making sundry interesting inquiries of Mike relative to the individual who performed it, but expressing his doubts of the possibility of a leg of mutton being so large.

"Arrah, where would you see id? 'Tisn't in Mexico, where yer sheep aren't bigger nor goats. Faix, providence placed ye in the right place, amego. 'Tis in England ye ought to be instead of in Mexeo. That's the place for the atin and the drinking, an no mistake. As for the matter of the drinking, we can bate 'em on that in ould Ireland; but I must acknowledge we cant come up to 'em in the atin line at all."

As eating was the thing above all others that absorbed itself and pervaded the being of the worthy Francisco, he expressed his surprise that the Irish, whom he complimented in glowing terms, as possessing all the qualities that adorn mankind, should be so backward in this most essential particular. He accordingly requested his friend Mike, or Don Miguel, as he styled him, to enlighten him as to the cause.

"Faith, it's a long story, an as it isn't an over an above pleasant one we'll put id off for another occasion," replied Mike, making a miserable attempt at a laugh.

Francisco would not have been put off with this answer, upon a subject in which he took such deep interest, had not the cravings of his stomach demanded his immediate personal attention. He therefore did not press the subject farther; indeed, it would not have been possible for him to do so, his mouth being constantly filled to its utmost capacity. Not so Mike. He rambled on in the same humorous strain, bestowing more attention on the bottle at his side than on his platter.

"'Tis true for me," he went on, bestowing on his guest one of those irresistibly comical looks, which, I verily believe, no member of the human family, other than an Irishman, can screw his face into. "'Tis in England ye ought to be this day, devil a less. It's the place for the atin intirely, an no wondher. Shure the Queen's husband himsif takes to raisin pigs like any Irishman, an a purty penny he makes of id too, accordin to all accounts. Shure I never tould ye of the visit I paid his Model Farim. I didn't. That's thrue. How

could I, seein we're new acquaintances. Faix, I know t'will interest ye. Says Captain Doyle, says he to me one day,—maybe ye know Captain Doyle of Waterford? The devil a betther rider ever crossed the country on the back of a baste than his four bones. Bathershin, how could ye know him? Maybe ye know his cousin thin, Mr. Doyle, the British Minister* they call him in the city of Mexico at this blessed minnit. Be the same token, the devil a man I ever saw looks less like a minister, or priest aither, for that matter."

Francisco having intimated that he knew the gentleman alluded to, and fully agreed with him as to his unclerical appearance, Mike resumed the thread of his story.

" Says the Captain, 'Mike,' says he, 'I want ye to take them slips of pigs over to the Model Farim. They're a present,' says he, 'to the Prencé.' 'The Model what?' says I, bothered intirely to know what a Model Farim was; for I saw in the windies little ships hung up they called model ships, an little steam-engines just as small. 'Prencé Albert's Model Farim,' says he, 'yeomedhaun of the devil, did ye never hear of id before?' 'The devil a word,' says I, not telling an on-truth. 'Well, ye hear it now,' says he, 'so pay attintion to me instructions.' With that he gave me two letterhs, one for the Prencé and one for a man in London that he said should furnish me with a vehicle to carry the slips to the Model Farim. So to make a long story short, off I started an got to London safe and sound be the ould steamer '*Nora Creena*.' An shure enough when I delivered the letter to the man, he gave me a great big cage on wheels, in which I put the slips, an off I set for the Model Farim, looking for all the world as if I was dhrivin a pair of wild bastes, and wonderin all the time what sort of a Farim a Model Farim could be, whether they hung it up in the windies, like the model ships, or put it on the chimney piece like the model steam engines.

" Well, in coarse of time, I came to the place they tould me the Model Farim was kept, an I goes up to the gate an gives the bell a rousin pull, but bad cess to the ring id gave good or bad. It must be out of ordher, says I to meself, so I gives id another rousin tug, but the sorra a sound came out of id. It's broke intirely, says I, an wid that I wound the lash of me whip round me hand an began hammering away wid the handle at the gate with all me might.

" All at onct id was pulled wide open, an a man, dressed out, amego, all in green and gould, with a face as red as a beet with passion, cried out :

" 'What de ye mane be sich conduct as these those are?' says he.

" 'What conduct?' says I, puttin on a bould face.

" 'Why by ringing the bell hin that hextraordinary manner,' says he.

" 'Begor I must have grown suddenly deaf, the Lord save us,' says I, 'for the devil a sound of a bell I heard good or bad.'

* This gentleman was British Chargé d'Affairs, at the time, in Mexico, but was commonly known as British Minister.

"Our bells are 'ung to sound hinside of the 'ouse, and not hout-side,' says he.

"That's it,' says I.

"That's hit,' says he.

"What's your business, my good fellow?" says he.

"I want to see the Prencé," says I, "immediately, if not sooner."

"He's one of the wild Hirish—he must be a lunatic," says he, in a low voice, drawin back.

"Ye'll make me a lunatic in arrest if ye keep me standin here much longer," says I. "The sorra a bit, bite or sup, enthered me lips since six o'clock this mornin."

"Who sent you here?" says he.

"Captain Doyle," says I.

"Hif he's a gentleman he must 'ave known it was himpossible for such as you to see His Royal Ighness," says he.

"Tareanages," says I, "ye dont mane to say that I must go back all the way to Waterford without seein him! What'll I do with the pigs, or how'll I face the Captain at all?"

"What's that you say about pigs, me man?" says he, all at once becoming mighty civil, comin straight up to me.

"The pigs," says I, "that I'm bringin to the Prencé as a present from Captain Doyle of Waterford."

"My good friend; you should 'ave told me that at once," says he. "But it makes no difference. Give me the letter an' I will deliver it to the Royal Steward, who will deliver it to His Royal Ighness. Hin the meantime wait here huntil I return."

"It's the pigs that's done it," says I to meself. And faith it isn't the first time they kept an Irishman from the road. Faix, I'll thry if they dont gain me admittance at once. "The slips are sufferin from hunger," says I, "an it wont serve 'em to remain long out here in the cowld."

"Oh, hif that his the case," says he, "hi'll take the responsibility of hadmitting you at once; the hanimals mustn't be hallowed to suffer hon hany hacount whatever." So he flung open the gates an in I drove triumphantly.

"Twould do yer heart good, Francisco, amego, to see the piles of cabbages, an turnups, an potatoes, an parsnips, an carrots—turnups as big as yer head, and cabbages the size of a washin tub—that went to feed the Prencé's animals, an sich animals to be sure. Sich fat pigs, fat sheep, fat oxen, an fat min. Some of the pigs wor actually so fat that it covered their eyes, an they were blind. In fact every livin thing in the place, Francisco, was fat, even the flies that buzzed about the fat heads of the animals were fatter than ever I saw before. Well, a man with a smock frock, as white as yer shirt, came up to me an tould me I would have to wait until it was His Royal Highness's pleasure to inspect the animals. So I axed him to show me the Model Farim.

"Sartinly," says he, "I'll be glad to take ye round till his Royal Highness comes."

" Well, off we set on a tower iv inspection, travelin through such beautiful cabbage gardens, an potaty fields, and turnup beds widout number, all laid out in rows as straight as a die. You couldn't find a stone, iv ye wanted one, the size iv a marble, in the whole place. At last I began to get tired, an I axed him again to show me the Model Fairim, thinkin maybe he forgot id.

" 'Shure this is id,' says he.

" 'Oh! murther,' says I, 'if this is the model how big must the rale fairim be?'

" But he only stared at me as if I had two heads instead of one. One iv the servants thin come up and tould us the Prencie was commin. So we made off, as fast as we could, to the pen where the pigs war put. Afther a while, two grand lookin gentlemin came along up to the pen—the Prencie I knew in a minit from the pictures I saw of him in the shop windies.

" 'This is the man, yer Royal Highness, that brought the hani-mals from Captain Doyle,' says one of the men, presentin me.

" So I made me bow, as in duty bound, when he axed a great many questions about the slips, how ould they wor, an what they ate an drank, an what they slept on, an so on. An I began to wondher to meself if he ever axed the same questions about the human beins that raised 'em. While I was givin instructions how to trate the slips, one iv the poor craters, feelin herself among foreigners, began to kick up her tantrums. The devil a more unruly pig ever stood on Ireland's ground than the same slip when she got a goin, so I kep me eye on her.

" 'Spake to her,' says one iv the men, 'she knows you.'

" So I called her, an she came runnin over to me waggin her tail, to all appearance as quite as ye plase. But just as I was puttin me hand down to scratch her back, 'phew, me jewel, quick as a flash iv lightning out of the sky, she darted through the fence and went clane out between the Prencie's blissed legs, knocken his Royal Highness off of his royal balance in a most onbecomin manner.

" 'Damn the brute,' says he, picken himself up.

" 'Egad your Royal Highness,' says the other gentleman, laughin, 'there's no mistakin the breed, she's pure Irish out an out.'

" Away went the fat Englishmen, puffin and blowin, after the runaway that was tarin round the place like mad. They might as well have striven to catch a hare on the side of Slievenamon mountain.

" 'They'll never do it, that's clear,' says the gentleman, laughin again. 'Go me, man,' says he to me, 'an see what you can do.'

" So off I set, an afther a purty smart run, I got her cornered, an back I brought her.

" 'That's a smart fellow,' says he to the Prencie. 'The Irish are a quick mercurial race, yer Royal Highness,' says he.

" 'The Irishman is like the Pole, he's ongrateful,'* says the Prencie,

* We do not vouch for the authenticity of Mike's humorous story; we give it, word for word, as he related it. Many years subsequently, however, we recalled the words which he attributes to Prince Albert, on reading the

with a solemn face, walking off, without sayin be yer lave, or sayin, Mr. O'Riely I'm grateful to ye for the trouble I put ye to, or Mr. O'Riely here's a sovereign for yerself, bad luck to him. So I walked off as stiff as he did.

" 'Mike,' says I, ' yer a wiser boy this minit than ye wor this time yesterday. The pigs delivered an not as much as sixpence to drink their health, an if that wasn't enough, I'm compared to a pole. Bejapurs, it's the fust time me, or any one belonging to me, was compared to poles; for the O'Rielys war a stout, thickset family, man an woman iv 'em, glory be to God. I'm ongrateful too, am I. What the devil did the Garmin beggar giv me to be grateful for I wondher?'

" That's what puzzled me intirely. Begor, id would puzzel a wiser head thin mine to find out. Well, I wint an tuck lave iv the slips, the craters, mounted the cage, an sot off back agin, in as sweet a temper as ever a disappointed Irish gentleman was in, who had grate expectations an didn't realize 'em.

" Undher sich circumstances, amego, id was quite natural for me to remimber the gentleman at the gate, with the red face, so when he opened id for me I gave him a skelp of the whip, on a sore spot, that sot him howlin in a manner that was quite refreshin to me feelings. I gave the baste another, that sot him off down the road, at the rate iv a hunt, an away we wint. Devil a much pity I had on the same baste, an id was lucky for 'em no one crassed me on the road that same day. That's the way, Francisco, I was threatened, be a Prence iv the blood, conshumin to all their breed."

That worthy, who had been stowing away large quantities of food, in a most marvelous manner, all the time Mike was relating his

correspondence between Humboldt and Varnhagen, published by Brochans, the Leipsic publisher: " I am only severe on the mighty," says Humboldt, writing to Varnhagen, " and this man (Prince Albert) was extremely repugnant and disagreeable to me, when I was at Stolzenpels. ' I know,' said he, ' that you sympathise deeply with the Russian Poles, but, unfortunately, they are as undeserving of sympathy as the Irish.' These are the words of Queen Victoria's husband."

On the 21st of February, 1847, an earlier date than the above extract, he writes: " I have just received a very charming letter from Prince Metternich, and a very wooden weak one from Prince Albert. When Prince Albert was at Stolzenpels, at his request, I laid a copy of my 'Cosmos' on his bed-room table. He had the politeness not to thank me. The Order of the Black Eagle, however, has rendered him more civil, for"—(here follow some asterisks, which imply that his remarks on the Prince are too severe for publication.) " The Prince writes me about circling seas of light, and terraces of stars—a Coburgian variation of my text, quite English, and savoring of Windsor, where the grounds are all terrace. In my 'Cosmos' I speak of carpets of stars, to mark the starless spots in the heavens. The Prince sends me a book on Mexican Monuments, which I had bought two years previously. It would have been more delicate had he sent me an edition of Byron. It is curious that he makes no allusion to Queen Victoria, who, perhaps, finds my book on nature not sufficiently Christian. You see that when Princes write, I am apt to judge severely."

His Royal Highness was, evidently, no favorite of Germany's greatest scholar.

story, happened to have his mouth empty, for the first time since he sat down, remarked, with a face of ludicrous gravity :

" Put not thy trust in princes, Don Miguel, or in any one else, if you can help it. It's a good advice, Señor, and not to be treated lightly."

" Thrust, is id," replied Mike ; " the devil a thrust I'd thrust him or his, not to the valedi iv sixpence. I tell ye what it is, Franeisco, I'm beginnin to see things different now to what I used to, in times past, an I'm thinkin the only thrust that'll ever be betwixt us will be the bayonet thrust—an that home."

A vigorous blow of Mike's clenched fist on the rickety table sent the cups and trenchers flying in every direction, while a deep and dark scowl overspread his features. So suddenly did it arise, so quickly was the unpleasant change accomplished, from the broad good humor of a harmless spirit, to the vengeful lineaments of a dark and dangerous one, that altogether another being presented itself before me—bold, vengeful and determined.

As I sat some little distance off listening to his story, his manner of closing it gave rise to a train of reflections very different to those which his humorous narration called forth.

There spoke the Irishman of his class, all over the broad continent. From the St. Lawrence, and beyond it, to the capes of Florida ; from New York to San Francisco, a deep rooted, bitter feeling is felt and expressed against England by the Irish ; indeed, I might safely say of every class. When one contrasts the mental difference, to say nothing of the physical, between the Irishman, poor, ignorant, and simple, on landing in America, and the appearance he presents after a few short years residence in the country, it must be admitted that Mike in his own quaint language—" I'm beginning to see things different now to what I use to in times past"—echoed the sentiments of millions of his countrymen. It is charged that this—more than clannish—feeling is fed and kept alive by demagogues, to serve base purposes, even by statesmen to serve theirs, which will bear not the light.

But, whether this charge is true or false, it cannot be applied to districts of country where the demagogue is never heard, or a newspaper never seen. Wherever we have met the Irishman, whether in the wilds of Oregon, the mines of California, the recesses of the Rocky Mountains, or the everglades of Florida, the same bitter feeling is manifest. One would naturally suppose that time and absence from his native land, would tend to tone down and soften this feeling. On the contrary, it seems to intensify the rancor, as if influenced by his material surroundings—the very air he breathes.

Whether Mike's ludicrous story of the "Model Farm" was the coinage of his own wild brain—which it very probably was—or a truthful narration, I know not, beyond his extravagant assertions in support of his veracity, but the conviction forced itself upon me, that he closed it with words of serious import to that power, whose history conjures up such bitter recollections in the hearts of millions of its former subjects.

Whether Ireland will ever shake off the British yoke, through the aid of her trans-atlantic sons, is a question I leave others to speculate on, but no nation, however powerful, can feel secure while such bitter hostility lies rankling in the breasts of millions of a notoriously martial race, ever ready to take advantage of events to strike a deadly blow at their ancient enemy. That time rarely fails—sooner or later—to furnish these events, who that reads history can doubt? Should the day arrive when America, with such materials at her command, would enter into conflict with England, the issue could hardly be doubtful. Such a conflict would result in her losing every foot of territory in the Western World, and would be, perhaps, the first act of the great drama of "Retributive Justice," which will one day—at least so it is predicted by her enemies, and they are not few—overtake her.

"Sit down, Francisco, me hero, an finish yer dinner," said Mike, as soon as he had recovered his good humor, addressing that individual, who stood staring at him, at a loss how to interpret Mike's violent demonstration on the table. "Tisn't done ye are already—no—iv coarse not—why should ye, as long as there's a shot in the locker?"

Francisco, thus reassured, promptly resumed his seat, making up for lost time by attacking the viands with renewed vigor. Mike now took up the bottle by his side in order, as he said, to wet his whistle; but, alas, the bottle was empty. Francisco's tumbler, however, was half full of spirits—eating, not drinking, being that gentleman's forte. Mike cast a wishful glance at it, but said nothing. The look, however, was not lost on the cunning Francisco, who promptly invited him, in the most cordial manner, to accept of the liquor, intimating at the same time, that the leg of a fowl lying, untouched, on Mike's plate, would be a fair equivalent for the liquor.

"That's what yer after, is id, me boy," said Mike, "take id an welcome. Begor, a fair exchange is no robbery."

As he spoke he raised the tumbler handed him by Francisco, threw back his head and allowed the spirits to flow slowly down his throat, like some luxurious voluntary, slowly but fondly imbibing the nectar-like vintage of a past generation. While our worthy friend Mike, was thus employed, the thieving Francisco made a sudden swoop upon his trencher, carrying off the only remaining slice of ham it contained. On setting down the tumbler the look of surprise on Mike's face told the thieving philosopher that his pilfering was discovered. Not knowing how this breach of good manners, not to say of decency, would be received by his volatile host, he sat regarding him, with a countenance in which cunning, mirth and fear were blended.

"Oh, begor yer welcome to id," said the good natured Irishman, "an I'd give ye another slice iv I had id, but the prog's gev out, sorra a wondher. Shure id wasn't becomin in me, an you me guest, to drink yer sperits; but its a failin I have that way, an what's more, id runs in the family. I was thinken as the liquor was sailin down

me throat, iv offerin ye the slice, but ye anticipated me, avick ; an iv anybody calls id be an uglier name while yer the guest of Michael O'Riely, tell him from me to orther his coffin, that's all.

"Francisco, avick," said he, changing the subject and leaning his elbows on the table in a sober confidential manner, but out of the corner of his eye beamed a humorously quizzical expression, rendering it impossible to say whether he was in jest or earnest, "ye wor up the mountain the other day with the party, did ye find out what that thing was for that was strapped on Antonio's back ? Sure I axed him,"—Mike indicated who "him" was, by a movement of his thumb over his shoulder, in the direction of the Doctor—"but he tould me that id was a weatherecock iv a new invention that they wor going to set up on the highest pinnacle iv the mountain, to tell the people iv the whole country how the wind blew ; and a mighty convenient thing it would be, when they put id there ; but when I saw them bringin id back again, shure I knew he was humbuggin me as ushall. Bad luck to the word iv truth can I get out of his lips at all, lately."

"How long have you been living with the commandant?" inquired Francisco, no doubt thinking the situation an enviable one, judging by the plentiful dinner he had just partaken of.

"How long is id," replied Mike, in some surprise. "Iver since I was born ; the same busom, God rest its soul, fed the two iv us, whin we wor infants. He's me foster-brother, iv ye know what that manes—what de ye call that in Spanish ?"

"*Hermano de Pecho*" (brother of the breast), replied Francisco.

"That's id, thin he's me *Hermano de Pecho*, an a week's length iv time never saw us separated, barin the spell I lived wid that same Captain Doyle I tould ye about.

"How was that?" inquired his companion.

"Faith, id's soon tould," said Mike :—"Mike," says the Doctor one mornin—he wasn't a doctor thin but was only a student, an he used to go up to Dublin in the season to cut up dead bodies, the Lord save us—"Mike," says he, 'the mare don't look well to-day, so don't take her out on any account, even to wather.' Iv coarse not, says I, be no manner o' manes ; for a betther bit iv blood wasn't to be found in all Kerry. As bad luck would have id, I tuck a dhrop too much that same unfort'nate mornin, an it was himself that sot me a goin. When I tuck into him a set iv throat flies I tied for him, he gave me a glass iv whiskey stronger than ushall, and 'twas that that did it. Well, in the coarse of the day what should come tarin in full cry afther a most beautiful buck, wid horns like the branch iv a three, but Mr. John O'Connell's hounds, an Mr. John's brother 'Dan,' the great 'Liberator,' was over from parliament, an out enjoyin the sport—be the same token id was the last time I ever saw him alive, rest and pace to him. Well, betwixt the Liberator an the hounds the whole country was up and afther them. Faith, the first thing I saw, Francisco avick, was meself on top iv the mare, flyin over the country like mad, and the second thing I saw, do ye

mind, was the mare lyin in a ditch, an her leg broke. Whin they tould me what happened, when I came to, for I lost me head wid the fall I got, begor, it sobered me intirely. To go back afther what happened id be to git a bullet through me, as sure as me name was Mike ; so, bedad, I run away, an niver stopped till I got all the way to Waterford. He niver found me out for a whole year, an whin he did he wrote to the Captain to send me back, which he did iv coarse. Be that time all about the mare was forgot.

" But ye made me forget the question I axed ye. What de ye think that thing was fur at all ? "

" It's for measuring mountains, and it's called a barometer," replied Francisco.

Mike received this announcement with a long low whistle.

" That's id, is id," said he. " Begor, no wondher for me to be mistaken ; shure I niver saw a baromether in that shape before."

" It's a mountain barometer, and is made for the purpose," rejoined the other.

" That accounts for id thin," said he ; " shure I might iv known it was for some purpose iv the kind they carried id," continued he reflectively.

" You know its use, then," said the other, with a low chuckling laugh, scarcely audible, leering at Mike out of the corner of his eye with a cunningly humorous expression, as if the idea of Mike's pretensions to such knowledge was ridiculous in the extreme.

" Maybe I do, an maybe I don't," replied Mike passively ; but as he caught the expression of the other's face he cried, " tisn't foolin me ye are, ye greasy lump iv fat, is it ? Begor, iv I thought ye tuck the liberty of humbuggin yer shuperiors, I'd give ye a pelt in the fat gob that id put ye off yer appetite for a week—no small privation to yer lordship I'm thinkin."

Francisco, thoroughly alarmed, took great pains in assuring him he was most serious in what he asserted. It was not difficult to appease the quick tempered Mike, who now arose and commenced packing up, while Francisco stretched himself out lazily on the luxuriant grass, and was soon fast asleep.

" If you put faith in the stories of that scapegrace, you will rest it on a very sandy foundation," said the Doctor, who had been some time sitting beside me, but who, nevertheless, seemed as much amused as myself, at the scene, which an opening in the branches of the trees afforded us. " Ferdinand Mendes Pinto was but a type of Mr. O'Riely, when he gets a going. In Mike the world has lost a great novelist."

" You do not mean to say," observed I, " that all he has been saying is pure fabrication. Is he not your foster brother, as he asserts ? "

" Oh, yes," replied he, " in that he speaks truly enough."

" And the story of the mare's broken leg, and of his running away, is that an invention of his ? "

" Well, no," responded the Doctor, " I must confess he confined himself to the truth, as near as it is possible for him to do."

"And the weathervane," continued I, "that of course is a creation of his own?"

"Indeed it is not," replied he, laughing. "That I confess was an invention of my own, to get rid of his importunities; for if I told him what the instrument really was for, he would pester my life out with questions as to how it was constructed, applied or calculated, for he is by no means as ignorant or illiterate as he would make his *compagnon de voyage* believe he is, or as the rude idiom in which he conveys his ideas would lead you to suppose, as you will find should you see more of him; though I must admit," continued he, with a laugh, "pneumatics was not one of the specialities of his education. When he falls in with a stranger, like Francisco, for instance, it is one of his eccentricities to display an ignorance which in reality does not belong to him. He says it is the only way of drawing a man out: and I believe he is not far wrong, however I may question the fairness of his means."

Somewhat surprised at this answer I said, "And the story of the Model Farm, is that, too, as truthful as the others turn out to be?" I was beginning to think that Mike's inventive faculties were not after all called into play as much as the Doctor would lead me to suppose. "I believe it is pure fiction," said he, again laughing, "or at least is founded upon some foolish story he picked up among geniuses of his own stamp. And now, my friend," said he, chuckling good humoredly, "as you seem to be in a catechising vein, I am ready to answer all other questions in due form."

"The cross-examination has closed, Doctor," said I, "and you stand convicted of gross libel on the character of Mr. Michael O'Riely."

"Not so much as you imagine."

"Are you afraid he will let out some of your secrets, that you wish to throw discredit on the veracity of your henchman?" said I.

"No, indeed," he replied, smiling. "There is little fear of poor Mike betraying me, though there is hardly an act of my life he is not acquainted with. Raised up together from infancy, in boyhood my companion, in manhood scarcely less, ever ready to obey my slightest wish; wherever I went he went, and I might add, whatever I did he did, or imitated, in his own humble way. He warmed to me when others grew cold, and clung to me when others deserted me, with a disinterested affection rarely to be met with in those of more exalted station. He has shared my fortunes from the beginning, and he will share them to the close."

While speaking a sadness stole over his features, as if some sorrowful memories of the past rose up before him, damming up the current of his genial nature, but giving to his countenance an intellectual seriousness that stamps the educated man—a sovereign stamp there is no counterfeiting, strangely in contrast with the good-humored but somewhat reckless look that usually characterized it. After a pause, in which he seemed to be striving to shake off the depression, he resumed :

"Yes, Mike was ever fond of gossiping and story-telling, and you will find that the name of 'Apocryphal Mike,' which his indulgence in the latter propensity has earned for him, he will not belie."

On my asking him how Mike had earned so dubious an appellation, the Doctor continued: "Some years since, on our passage across the Atlantic, which was long, and somewhat stormy, Mike relieved the tedium of the dull hours by relating to the passengers tales of flood and field, in which he never failed to make himself the principal actor. On deck or down below, he was never without his knot of gaping listeners, swallowing with avidity his wonderful stories, which only wanted the stamp of truth to make him a hero of the first magnitude. That he had become one, in the eyes of the simple-minded emigrants, was very evident; but unfortunately for his popularity a priest, who was one of the cabin passengers, was heard to give him the equivocal title of 'Apocryphal Mike,' which lost him in a moment that popularity, the foundation of which was just as tangible as that on which many a more notable individual makes his way to fame. Whether it was that he was thus dubbed by a priest, and considered it a kind of ecclesiastical condemnation of his truthfulness, or the sudden loss of his popularity, I know not, but from that day to this, he never could bear to hear the name mentioned; no matter when or where you find him indulging in his favorite propensity of story-telling, you have only to mention the magic words 'Apocryphal Mike' to strike him dumb in a moment."

CHAPTER VI.

CHIVALRY—JOURNEY RESUMED—AN INDIAN VILLAGE—MEXICAN INDIANS, AND ANCIENT EGYPTIANS—NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS IN CONNECTION WITH THE ASIATIC CONTINENT—SCALPING COMMON TO THE INHABITANTS OF BOTH CONTINENTS—ANCIENT RACES OF MEXICO AND THE NORTHERN CONTINENTS—CURIOUS EVIDENCES OF THEIR EXISTENCE FOUND IN MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES—“THE DARK AND BLOODY GROUND.”

WISHING to change the subject, for the Doctor's countenance still retained the serious cast, I said, "The more I look at that fellow"—alluding to Francisco, who lay snoring on the grass, "the more he reminds me of Sancho Panza."

"Egad; you took the word out of my mouth," replied he. "I don't think I ever saw a better representation of La Mancha's famous squire. What an unctuous snore the fellow has. I actually thought—of course it was fancy—as he lay down, his lips moving, that he uttered the very words of that famous individual, 'God bless the man that invented sleep.' 'Tis strange," continued he, contemplatively, "how soon mankind, even the most enlightened nations, forgets the events of past history, and even those which are sometimes recalled or seen accomplished before our own eyes, receive a coloring from our prejudices and predilections, which entirely misrepresent them, even to ourselves. Cervantes, when he swept chivalry away with his

pen, blotted out one of the noblest institutions of Christendom. True, 'tis unsuited to the age in which we live, or even to the age when Cervantes himself lived, and had he not hastened its downfall, it would have given way, in any event, to make room for those changes that succeed each other in the march of time, as wave follows wave in the ocean. Like all human institutions, as it ran its course, error and corruption attached themselves to it, dimming its lustre, marring its usefulness, and hastening its end; like a noble new ship set out on a long voyage, her bottom smooth and polished, having run her course she returns to port, fouled and covered with the slime and weeds of the sea, to be condemned. If war be the normal condition of man, how little is thought, in our day, of how much he owes to an institution which has redeemed him from those atrocities which characterize savage warfare. To it he owes that high tone of chivalrous honor which has been emulated by succeeding generations of soldiers, from the first knight of the Red Branch to the last knight of St. John of Jerusalem. Upon its foundation are built those laws to which, in time of war, he owes the preservation of the roof that covers him, the lives of his children, and the honor of those dearest to him on earth. Yet, when its task is done, true to his ingrate instincts, he smiles upon it in contempt or derision, as he does upon other institutions of the past, to which he owes even more. *Ingrato homine terra pejus nil creat,** exclaimed he, winding up, in his usual style, with a quotation.

The Doctor betrayed a weakness in this respect, that sometimes carried him beyond the bounds, which, perhaps, good taste prescribed; nevertheless, as he is no ideal creation, in justice to him it must be confessed, his quotations betrayed a sound morality, as well as depth of classical lore, and were of a character so interesting that few who heard and understood him ever accused him of that want of taste of which he so frequently accused himself. If I were to record a tithe of those that fell from his lips, while journeying with him many a long and weary mile, they would occupy a much greater space than these pages afford, but as a faithful chronicler I cannot entirely pass them over.

After the fierceness of the noonday's sun had somewhat abated, we resumed our journey, passing through a hamlet of Popoloca Indians, whose half naked inhabitants flocked to the road, greeting us with the customary salutations of "*Buenos dias, Caballeros.*" They were mostly of the male sex, the females being at work in the fields. This peculiarity of the Mexican Indians, who compel the women to do the heavy labor while they employ themselves in more effeminate occupations, is considered by some historians as being in striking accord with the Egyptians, with whom they are disposed to identify the ancient Mexicans. Sophocles notices the effeminacy of the Egyptians, "who stay at home tending the loom, while their wives are employed in severe labor out of doors." Why the condition of the women,

* The earth produces nothing worse than an ungrateful man.

which is the same among all the aboriginal tribes of the continent, should be a cause for assimilating the Mexicans in particular with the Egyptians, it is difficult to imagine. True, the males of the more barbarous tribes of the north occupy their time in war, or the chase, which the Mexicans do not; but the condition of the northern Indian is in some measure as much owing to the effects which the white race with whom they come in contact have had upon them, than perhaps any radical difference of race. From Cape Horn to Mexico, the Spaniard has redeemed and partly civilized the Indian; he, therefore, remains the cultivator of his own soil, the arbiter in a measure of his own destiny. We of the north, in our wisdom, pursue a different policy. Hence, to a great extent, the difference. We are now driving them westward into the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, when humanity, to say naught of Christianity, should urge us to drive the handful that remains—if driven they must be—in the contrary direction, eastward into civilization.

However, there are features, other than those, which give a higher coloring to the identity of the ancient Mexicans and Egyptians. The great pyramid on the plateau of Cuernaraca called Xochicalco—"the house of flowers,"—is scarcely distinguishable from the ordinary type of those in Lower Egypt. In Yucatan also they are equally apparent. There the serpent entwined about the stem of the lotus is frequently repeated on the friezes of the temples.

It is possible the Indians occupy a similar geographical position on this continent to that which their ancestors occupied on the Asiatic—assuming that they came thence, which is the generally received opinion; that is, that the Aztec and other tribes, the evidences of whose civilization are daily coming to light, occupy a similar latitudinal position on the American continent, to that which their ancestors occupied on the Asiatic; and the northern tribes a similar position to theirs. That barbarous mode of treating a fallen foe, by scalping, peculiar to the tribes of the north, came from, and was at a remote period practised among, the hordes of northern Asia.*

There are those, however, and they are by no means few or insignificant, who hold the doctrine, that in different parts of the world, different nations have developed, at the same time, identical or similar tendencies in organization, in art, and theology. But those who have studied American antiquities are unanimous in ascribing them to an Asiatic source. Cortes, when alluding to Montezuma, in one his dispatches to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, says:

"After having presented these (cloth and gold) to me, he sat down

* "The passes through these mountains," says Washington Irving, in describing the passes of the Caucasus, "were secured of yore by fortresses and walls and iron gates, to bar against the irruptions from the shadowy hordes of 'Gog and Magog,' the terror of the olden time; for by these passes had poured in the barbarous hordes of the North, a mighty host, riding upon horses, who lived in tents, worshipped the naked sword planted in the earth, and decorated their steeds with the *scalps* of their enemies slain in battle." See "Mahomet," vol. ii. page 271.

on another piece of carpet they had placed for him, near me, and being seated, he discoursed as follows :

“ It is now a long time since, by means of written records, we learned from our ancestors that neither myself nor any of those who inhabit this region were descended from its original inhabitants, but from strangers who emigrated hither from a very distant land ; and we have also learned that a prince, whose vassals they all were, conducted our people into these parts, and then returned to his native land. He afterwards came again to this country after the lapse of much time, and found that his people had intermarried with the native inhabitants, by whom they had many children, and built towns in which they resided ; and when he desired them to return with him, they were unwilling to go, nor were they disposed to acknowledge him as their sovereign ; so he departed from the country, and we have always heard that his descendants would come to conquer this land, and reduce us to subject vassels ; and according to the direction from which you say you have come, namely, the quarter where the sun rises, and from what you say of the great lord or king who sent you hither, we believe and are assured that he is our natural sovereign.” (See Falsom’s translation of Cortes’ dispatches, chap. iv. page 87.)

Montezuma, according to the same account, repeats this statement in presence of all the lords of the country, whom he summoned together on the occasion. There is a discrepancy as to the direction which Montezuma says his people came from—“ The quarter where the sun rises”—and some of the writers on Mexican antiquities describe them as having emigrated toward the close of the twelfth century of our era, from a spot traditionally known as Atzlan, or, “ the country of the waters,” which they suppose to be the territory enclosed within the angle formed by the junction of the Rio Colorado and the Rio Gila, at the head of the Gulf of California, but which lies in the northwest. They did not reach the table-land of Anahuac, however, until the year 1324. In their estimation, no date in their history has been better established than this. “ We have, therefore, indubitable evidence,” says a recent writer on this subject, “ of a nomadic horde suddenly suppressing the instincts of their nature, relinquishing the habits of savage life, and becoming a permanently settled people, developing a capacity for political organization, raising stupendous piles of brick and stone, constructing and embellishing innumerable cities, cultivating the arts and sciences, and making such advancement in astronomy more particularly, as not only to rival but to surpass that which was made by the most enlightened nations of antiquity in Asia and Europe. And these astonishing results are crowded into the space of a century and a half.” An accomplishment that looks highly improbable, if based on the knowledge we possess of the characteristic features of nomads in general, more particularly North American.

This comparatively spontaneous civilization was built upon the ruins of the Zoltecas, who, in the eleventh century, had been overwhelmed by successive calamities ; and who, like the Aztecas, came

originally from the north-western part of the continent. These people are said to have been established in New Mexico from 300 B.C., which is said to be the earliest assumed date in the annals of aboriginal America. The traditions of their origin, which is shrouded in mythological fable, ascribe them as having migrated from the distant east, beyond immense seas and lands. From the Ulmeas they wrested the territory of Anahuc, which they are said to have held for seven centuries. The Ulmeas, in turn, had displaced the Quinames, a fabulous race of giants—the *Feinne* of America. The dim light of documentary history just reflects the declining years of the Zoltecan dominion, and presents vaguely to our view the pre-eminent position they held in the eyes of their contemporaries. They were, by far, the most civilized and ingenious of all the ancient American nations of whom tradition or history preserves any notice. Prescott states their tribal appellation to be synonymous with Architect. The survivors of their race retreated, on the coming—and probably before the coming—of the Aztecas to Yucatan, Guatemala, and Nicaragua, where they left the evidence of their civilization, as they have elsewhere, in the numberless ruins of beautiful structures to be found in those countries. They were, as Humboldt has designated them, the *Pelasgi* of the Western World.

This, of course, accounts for the silent cities of Central America. But to what races are we to ascribe the evidences we find in the United States—such, for instance, as the huge mound of Cahoea, in Illinois, which is said to be 700 feet long, 500 feet wide at the base, and 90 feet in height? This mound is constructed with as much regularity as any of the *teocallis*, and was originally cased with stone, and surmounted with one or more buildings.

“From the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains a perpetual succession of vast entrenched camps and colossal fortifications, in earth and stone, follow the entire route. Every eminence is defended, as well as every delta formed by the junction of streams. Redoubts and breastworks, ramparts and circumvallations, mounds of observation and—anachronistic as it seems—casemates, (as in the ruins of Marietta, near the mouth of the Muskingum), attest equally to the number, the skill, and the industry of the population which constructed them.”

A brief description of the most eminent of these stupendous defences, found in the state of Ohio, is interesting:

“Between the delta formed by the Newark and the Racoone, there is a perpendicular table-land, about thirty-five feet high, upon which regular fortifications of great extent are built. On the west side of the platform is an octangular fort, enclosing a space of about forty acres, with walls about nine feet high, and of equal breadth. This fort was entered by eight gates, about five yards in width, each protected by a tumulus placed in the interior, in front of the entrances. Two parallel walls lead to another circular fort, placed southwest of the first, covering a space of twenty-two acres. Proceeding towards the south, you see an observatory that commands almost all the ex-

tent upon which these divers constructions are erected. Beneath the observatory, a secret passage leads to the bank of the Racoon. Further to the right is a third fort, also circular, of about twenty-six acres, with an anterior moat, out of which the earth was taken to form the walls of the fort, which are about twenty-five to thirty feet high. The two parallel walls, very distant from each other at this place, run to the north, gradually diminishing their distance, and terminate at another fort of quadrangular shape, twenty acres in extent. These four different forts are connected by rather low walls, and in the center is a shallow pond, covering a superficies of 150 to 200 acres, which probably afforded water to the flocks collected within the wide enclosure. Towers of observation are placed from distance to distance on the rising points of the plateau."

Some of these mounds assume curious shapes. There is one in Adams county, Ohio, in the form of a serpent, 1000 feet long, "extending in graceful curves and forming a triple coil at the tail. The mouth is open and, apparently, in the act of swallowing an oval figure, which rests partly within the jaws." "Dense as must have been," says a late number of the *Edinburgh Review*, alluding to this interesting subject, "the population at one time, which reared these monuments—long before the advent of the Spaniard they disappeared." Whoever or whatever they were, they seem to have maintained themselves, or gathered together what remained of them, in Kentucky to a much later period.

A few years ago, the corpse of a warrior was discovered in one of the sepulchral mounds in the streets of Marietta, Ohio, with the remains of a baldric, or buckler, composed of copper, overlaid with a thick plate of silver, lying across his breast. By his side were several broken pieces of copper tubing, filled with iron rust—all in fact that remained of his scabbard and sword. "These articles," says Mr. Squier, "have been critically examined, and it is beyond doubt that the bosses are absolutely *plated*, not simply overlaid, with silver."

The terra-cotta vases found in New Mexico, and elsewhere, compare, in form, with the choicest antique specimens of Europe, "and many of them retain," says the Abbe Domenech, "a very perfect varnish; they are ornamented with brilliant paintings, lines, scallops, frogs, butterflies, tortoises, and monkeys' heads." Urns have been also found of *old world types*, and yet it is questioned whether the aborigines were acquainted with the potter's wheel.

"However differing in their vocabularies," remarks the late Albert Galatin, "there is an evident similarity in the structure of all the American languages. From whatever land the aboriginal population of North America proceeded—from Eastern Siberia, by the passage of Behring's Straits, or by the Aleutian Islands, or, which is more probable, from the Bactrian heights, or Hindostan, by the Indian and Pacific Oceans—the influence of their genius, mythology, and civilization, has not wholly declined to this day."

Nevertheless, we cannot help thinking, that to the ancestors of the

red nomad who confronts us to-day, on the soil of America, is not due that civilization, the evidences of which we see, but to a race that preceded them, but who succumbed, or was exterminated by the red man. At the time of the conquest, the highest civilized races were confined to a limited portion of the North American continent; they were not to be found above the 25th parallel of north latitude. Nearly the whole of North America was occupied by "indigent semi-barbarous tribes, widely scattered, and subsisting, for the most part, on the produce of the chase," with the exception of one noted spot—the "dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky—which had long been shunned by every Indian with superstitious dread. The traditions of this locality relate that the now fertile and attractive banks of the Ohio had been—many centuries before the arrival of the Europeans—the scene of a dreadful carnage. "An entire nation, both physically and morally distinguished from the red-skins—*white men*—and who had been settled in the country from time immemorial, were unexpectedly assailed and overwhelmed by their enemies."

Indeed the incompleteness of many of the monuments in the valley indicate sudden cessation of labor by the constructors, and so far confirms the reality of this dark legend.

ART. X.—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—COTTON AND THE COTTON TRADE.

SEVERAL of our correspondents, and a few of our contemporaries, have taken issue with us for recommending the abandonment of cotton culture as the leading industrial pursuit in the South, and seem to think that in our statements of the difficulties to be encountered in competing successfully with other countries, and in our estimate of the obstacles to be met at home, we are disposed to look too persistently upon the dark side of the picture. Nothing would please us better than to be convinced that they were right, and that all the hindrances we have from time to time mentioned, and all the evidences which we see daily in the statistical details of the trade, were but fictions conjured up in a fit of unusual depression; but we are constrained to say, that so far from this being the case, we are only the more strongly confirmed by a survey of the facts as they come before us, in the belief that so powerful a momentum has been given to the production of cotton in other countries by well directed private enterprise, and by the lavish but intelligent application of government support and bounty, that even did we stand on the same footing as in 1860, the struggle for the control of the staple would be anything but easy.

In our last number we gave the annual report of the British Cotton Supply Association, which indicated what had been done by private means and enterprise, undismayed by several years of continued failure. It is true, that but for our disastrous civil war, the day of triumph for this combination of spinners,

brokers and cotton merchants would not have come so soon; but there was a dogged perseverance in their efforts, a determination to create other sources of supply, and release themselves from their dependence upon America, so remarkable and so regardless of outlay, that sooner or later such fidelity to a fixed idea must have commanded a success.

But an opportunity was presented in our domestic troubles such as the sagacious statesmen of England never permit to pass unheeded. The moment so long waited and plotted for had at length arrived, when the fostering care of government might be judiciously applied; and it was not withheld. A system of internal improvements was projected and inaugurated on so colossal a scale, that, beside it, our much vaunted efforts to reach the shores of the Pacific seem dwarfed and puny. Undaunted by the difficulties and obstacles which the topography of the country presented, a plan was mapped out for covering the Indian Empire with a network of railways four thousand six hundred miles in length, involving an estimated outlay of nearly *one hundred millions of pounds sterling*. To raise this vast capital, the British Government pledged its credit with certain private companies, and guaranteed a fixed interest on all investments in Indian railways. The plan proposed embraced the construction of three great trunk lines with lateral branches uniting the extremes of the empire and intersecting everywhere the cotton producing districts; and the prosecution of this plan has been carried on with such astounding energy, that there are now 3,200 miles in operation, and an additional thousand miles will be completed this year. The marvellous effect upon the industrial development of the country through which these various lines of railway penetrate is a favorable commentary upon the intelligence that suggested the system, and is likewise an ample justification for the expenditure. Many of the India railways are now paying dividends to their stockholders and liquidating their indebtedness to the British Government for advances during the period of construction for the guaranteed interest of five per cent. The advances so required amounted to only £600,000 in 1867, as against £1,450,000 in 1865, clearly showing the increasing prosperity of the roads and of the country.

The question of costly transportation, then, which was the chief obstacle in the path of successful competition with us, being settled, the advantages are now all on the side of India, save in one important particular, which we shall notice directly. The soil is admirably adapted to the cultivation of cotton; there is an inexhaustible supply of skilled labor to be had at astonishingly low rates, two to five cents a day; a vast extent of country can be placed under culture, as the facilities of communication are extended, and the British Government stands ready to extend the most liberal aid to the proprietors whenever they are prepared to commence operations. There are now 1,801,780 acres under cotton in Bombay, and 611,722 acres in the central provinces, all within ready access to ports for shipment. In the central provinces, only six and a-half per cent. of the cultivated land is devoted to cotton, the rest to cereals. Seven cotton factories have recently been erected in Bombay, and the whole country presents an appearance of life and prosperity in sad contrast with the condition of our slaughtered South.

The exception noted above as being still in our favor is in the matter of the staple, which with us is much superior to that produced in India; but even

this advantage has been robbed of more than half its value by the modifications which have been introduced in the machinery of the English factories, which is now so well adapted to India cotton, that all numbers of thread, from sixteen to sixty, are spun from clear Surat; and by the great care bestowed upon the selection of seed, and in improved modes of culture and preparation for market, which has resulted in the production of a quality which, we are assured on competent authority, is of "fine and sound staple, nearly as long as American, of good color, quite as clean as our grade of middling, and possessing as good spinning qualities as our uplands; and this was not of rare occurrence, but exceedingly common." In addition to the extreme precautions observed in the selection of seed, a leading cause of the noticeable improvement in India cotton is the substitution of the Macarthy for the American saw gin, the last mentioned having been nearly altogether discarded. Cotton put through the Macarthy gin will bring, in the Liverpool market, from a penny to one and a half penny more than the same cotton put through the American saw gin.

It is a common error among our people to argue that in the event of cotton declining to six or seven pence in the Liverpool market, it would check the growth in India. Let us at once disabuse ourselves of so false an impression. Such was the case but a few years back, before the efforts had been made which we have briefly recapitulated; but now, it will be seen by reference to the report of the committee of the Boston Board of Trade on the subject of the cotton tax, which we publish in part below, that India cotton can be grown at six cents a pound, and delivered in Liverpool for eight and a-half cents. How many years will it be before we can possibly compete with this? that is, how long will it be before we can afford to sell our staple in Liverpool at eleven and a-half cents, which figure allows for about the average difference between the two varieties of cotton.

Notwithstanding the success which has attended the efforts of Great Britain in vastly increasing the supply of cotton in Hindostan, she is not yet satisfied. *Foreseeing, probably, the certain destruction of our cotton growing interests through the malice and narrow-mindedness of our radical law-breakers*, she is already on the alert for new fields wherein to produce a staple which will replace the loss of the American, so necessary in the manufacture of her finer fabrics. The expedition to Abyssinia bids fair in its results to give her, at the least, the control, if not the actual possession, of a vast cotton region two thousand miles nearer to her ports than India; and we see it stated that very recently an experienced planter from South Carolina has been employed by the British Government to visit the British West India Islands, and to report as to their fitness for the cultivation of cotton. With what extreme jealousy does this great power guard and protect the interests of her citizens, seeing that in their prosperity lies her safest guarantee for domestic quiet, and in the fruits of their industry a peace-preserving power with foreign nations. And how humiliating the comparison when we contrast this watchful solicitude with the heedless legislation of those in whose unworthy hands the honor and prosperity of our country, its commerce, its agriculture, its industry, and, above all, its integrity, have been placed only to be sacrificed. Well may a contemporary exclaim, in view of just such facts as we have stated:

At such a time as this, when in the South the whole industrial system is

overthrown, when universal high prices prevail, when all the advantages of the Southern planter have vanished, when capital in the South has perished and credit has ceased, when the cost of the production of cotton has increased immensely, and the fall in the price of the article has steadily fallen until it is now less than the cost of production—at such a time as this, so little knowledge of political economy, so little worldly wisdom and sagacity do some of our Senators display, that they waste days in considering whether they shall consent to remove a tax which equals one-fourth of the value of the article taxed. England builds up the cotton interest by gigantic subsidies. The United States strangles it by taxes heavier in amount than ever were heard of before in the history of the world.

Having given some idea of the cost of raising cotton of an inferior quality in the British possessions, let us see how it is in Egypt, where an article is raised nearly equal to our sea island. In the report of the Boston committee already referred to, we find the following estimate furnished by William S. Thayer, Esq., late United States Consul General at Alexandria, and dated March 5, 1863, of cultivating one acre of Egyptian cotton.

Tax paid to government	110	piastres.
Ploughing 50, Irrigation 60.....	110	"
Seed 20, Hoeing 100.....	120	"
Picking 100, Ginning 40.....	140	"
	480	" \$24 00

"The above statement," says Mr. Thayer, "was furnished me by a successful planter at Mansaneh in Lower Egypt; but the items are upon a scale of expense considerably larger than is necessary in some of the other districts. As an acre in Mansaneh yields an average of four cuntars (94lbs. net, each), the expense of raising one cuntar will amount according to the foregoing statement, to six dollars." "Less than 6½ cents," says the report, "per pound for a variety of cotton which is superior to any of our cotton except our Sea Island, for which it is largely used as a substitute. If Egypt were under a civilized government, we should find her our most dangerous competitor. Land of the best quality sufficient to produce 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 bales of cotton could be brought into cultivation in Egypt, if the requisite labor could be obtained."

Now compare these estimates with the following eloquent balance sheet which we find in the columns of the *Free Trade League*, furnished, as the editors tell us, by a reliable party in Mobile.

Statement showing the loss upon 90 bales cotton grown in Panola county, Mississippi, and sold in Mobile, 15th October, 1867.	
Ninety bales, weight, 46.081 lbs., a 16c.....	\$7,372 96
Expenses of 2½ cents per lb., Internal Revenue tax, fees of Revenue officer. Freight \$4 30 per bale. Commission, insurance and other charges in Mobile; rope, bagging, etc.....	2,764 80

Wages of 30 laborers at \$175 per annum.....	\$4,608 16
Loss, exclusive of interest, rent of plantation, wear and tear of machinery: expenses of cattle, horses, and mules; private account, etc.....	5,250 00

	641 84

Three bales to the hand, as it is called, is a fair average in that part of the country; it being light, sandy soil. Although the labor of the farm is completed, the Freedmen's Bureau will enforce the contract as for the whole year, from January 1, 1867. The cotton all opened at once.

After reading the foregoing statement of the preponderating advantages possessed by other countries, and comparing these favorable circumstances with the hopeless prospect in the South, as illustrated in the extract above, our friends will hardly accuse us of having unduly exaggerated the odds that are against us. We repeat that even with everything on our side as in 1860, such

was the determination of England to destroy our monopoly, and so tremendous were the resources she could command to further that object, the struggle—though there had been no civil war—would have been sooner or later inaugurated and the results would have been by no means assured in our favor. How then can we now hope to compete successfully with her in our dependence upon a class of laborers, daily becoming more and more worthless and insubordinate; with our attenuated purses, and no banking facilities; with our empty corn-cribs and vacant stock-pens, with business in all departments completely paralyzed, and with ruin, in its broadest sense, closing in upon us in our financial, social and political relations? The attempt to recover lost ground since the close of the war has rendered insolvent thousands of our planters, and if those who now have a remnant of means yet on hand persist this year in the mad experiment, they too will find at the close of the season that they have sacrificed the wherewithal to properly introduce these changes which every dictate of prudence, interest and common sense point's to as necessary and inevitable. The days of cotton-planting in this country as an exclusive crop are numbered, and a new husbandry must be inaugurated. Corn and wheat must be the leading crops, but roots and grass, the orchard and the vineyard will, with a plot of cotton large enough for domestic uses, sufficiently diversify pursuits. Do away with fences for your fields, and enclose your stock; procure and use the improved implements employed at the North, go to work zealously and intelligently, and though the great Northwest may groan as she piles her corn upon the hearth for fuel, and though the Puritan may swear a pious oath as he sees the country drained of the precious metals to pay for the silks, the satins and the broadcloths, for which our cotton used to pay, yet you with enough to eat and wear may be contented and independent.

If any additional proof was needed to convince us of the entire lack of statesmanship in the Radical party, and of the implacable hatred of that party towards the South, the history of the imposition of the cotton tax, and of the recent legislation looking to its repeal, would furnish that proof. For many months before the meeting of Congress, the question of rescinding this unjust and onerous burden was agitated by the press of the whole country with singular unanimity. The Boards of Trade and Commerce in all the leading cities urged this relief upon Congress, with arguments drawn from the commercial necessities of the nation; delegations of business men, irrespective of party, were sent to Washington to confer with Congressmen, and so general and so urgent was the appeal, that it was confidently expected that one of the first measures introduced would be an act to repeal the obnoxious tax, with a retro-active clause taking in the whole of the present crop, and that it would promptly pass without opposition. Two months have elapsed since the adjourned meeting in November, and the bill introduced, short-sighted and as unsatisfactory it is, has not yet become a law. In an economic point of view the immediate repeal of the tax and the return to the grower of all amounts already paid, would commend itself to unprejudiced minds as the most judicious method of placing the South in condition to carry on planting operations this year, to employ the freedmen, and to avert impending starvation, thus putting a stop to the depredations and outrages now so common, and quieting the apprehensions, which General Gillen admits are well founded, of a collision of races, which once begun would lead

to results no one can foresee. The bounty of the Government—if bounty we must call it—could not be better applied, and in no other way can so many desirable ends be attained. That the Government must come to the relief of the South is a recognized fact—the evil is too great even for the most munificent private charity; and already we see the agents of the Bureau giving public notice that they are again ordered to distribute food to the destitute, and—unfortunate complication—to those about to plant sufficient area in cereals to insure their provisions for next year, and who have a reasonable prospect of being able to repay the Government the cost of provisions advanced. Parties engaging wholly or to an undue extent in the culture of cotton will not be assisted. In this scheme the door is left wide open to all manner of corruption, fraud and favoritism, which might have been avoided by restricting the duties of the Bureau to relieving the wants of the really destitute who are unable to work, and those who made no crops last year, but who are desirous of raising food this; and by distributing the ten or eleven millions of dollars already collected, by taxing the 950,000 bales of cotton which have come to market (at the time we write), among those who would use the money thus refunded as a basis for operation this year.

The report of a committee of the Boston Board of Trade upon the cotton tax is addressed to the Senators in Congress from Massachusetts, and is—except in the matter of certain speculations and convictions with regard to the ultimate economy of free (black) labor, in which we do not join—an able argument supported by valuable statistics, and presented from an enlightened point of view. The committee is composed of prominent merchants and manufacturers who know whereof they write, and are competent authorities on the subject of India cotton, two of the committee having imported (or bought from the importers), and manufactured, from 1860 to 1864, 25,000 bales of that variety, and therefore speak of its value from actual experience. They have also been thoroughly posted with regard to later improvements, both as regards the staple and the machinery used in England for its manufacture, and they publish in a supplement to the original report, letters and statements confirmatory of the positions taken in their argument. From this supplement we extract the following letter, received after this report had been presented from the South:

It is evident that the present system of raising cotton in the Southern States will have to be materially changed before large crops can again be looked for. The introduction of better farming implements and labor-saving machines may do much, but it will take time to perfect them; and it has already been demonstrated during the past two seasons that planting cotton on large plantations, with hired labor, on the old plan, will not pay; while the small farmer, who hires only one or two hands and gives his crops the benefit of his own labor and industry, can do very well. The large land-owners are anxious to sell the greater portion of their lands, and offer to divide them into small farms at less price than the public lands are sold; but the great depression in all departments of industry, and feeling of uncertainty regarding the future political status of the cotton States, makes it very difficult to find purchasers, even when long credit is tendered.

It will take time also to eradicate old-fogy notions and prejudices; but we note with pleasure that this is gradually being accomplished. It has been a source of both pride and pleasure to the writer to see hundreds of young white men, who before the war would have scorned to hold the plow-handles, now at work in the fields, endeavoring to resuscitate their fallen fortunes by their own industry and honest labor. Such cannot fail to succeed.

We now subjoin the original report without abridgment.

The Committee of the Boston Board of Trade, to whom has been referred the question of what action the Board should take in reference to the repeal of the tax now imposed upon American cotton, report the following vote, and recommend its adoption: —

Voted. That our Senators be requested to vote for the bill which has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate, by which the tax now imposed on American cotton will be removed.

They recommend the adoption of this vote for the following reasons: —

1st. Because the following statements of the consumption of cotton in Europe, and estimates of the supply for one year from Oct. 1, 1867, are fully credited in Europe; and, until the estimates of supply are discredited by the facts, the price of cotton must rule very low as compared with the price prevailing when the tax upon cotton was imposed.

Your Committee are well aware of the danger of basing the probable course of prices upon statistics; but even those who most distrust statistics will admit, that, whatever the facts may prove, what people believe to be facts will affect their action, and consequently affect prices.

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON, OCT. 1, 1866, TO OCT. 1, 1867.

	America.	India.	Brazil.	Egypt.	Sundries.	Total.
ENGLAND.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.	Bales.
Stock in ports, Oct. 1, 1866	268,000	515,000	96,000	24,000	42,000	945,000
Imported Oct. 1, 1866, to Oct. 1, 1867	1,222,000	1,444,000	417,000	181,000	153,000	3,417,000
	1,490,000	1,959,000	513,000	205,000	195,000	4,562,000
Exported	230,000	678,000	83,000	10,000	81,000	1,087,000
	1,260,000	1,281,000	425,000	195,000	164,000	3,325,000
Stock, Oct. 1, 1867, according to brokers	244,000	466,000	127,000	35,000	39,000	911,000
Consumption	1,016,000	815,000	298,000	160,000	125,000	2,414,000
CONTINENT.						
Stock, Oct. 1, 1866	82,000	71,000	21,000	2,000	22,000	198,000
Direct Imports	276,000	80,000	62,000	47,000	225,000	697,000
Exports from England less 18,000 sent to England	227,000	678,000	88,000	10,000	21,000	1,019,000
	585,000	829,000	175,000	59,000	268,000	1,914,000
Stock, Sept. 30, 1867.—Havre, 95,000 bales; Hamburg, 25,000 do.; Bremen, 21,000 do.; Sundrie, 40,000 do.	58,000	52,000	21,000	4,000	51,000	181,000
Consumption	532,000	777,000	152,000	55,000	217,000	1,733,000
Total	1,545,000	1,592,000	460,000	215,000	342,000	1,141,000
Within about 10 per cent in weight of the consumption in 1866.						

ESTIMATE OF SUPPLY OF COTTON TO EUROPE.

Oct. 1, 1867, to Oct. 1, 1868.

	BALES.
From America	1,750,000
From Egypt	250,000
From Brazil and other countries (supply of 1865-6, 915,000 bales; 1866-7, 849,000 bales), say average 1867-8	900,000
From India (supply of 1865-6, 1,992,000 bales; 1866-7, 1,524,000 bales), say average 1867-8	1,750,000
	4,650,000
Add stock in Europe, Oct. 1, 1867	1,092,000
	5,742,000
Consumption in 1867-8 (50,000 bales in England, 33,000 bales on Continent), per week 83,000	4,342,000
Stock, Oct. 1, 1868	1,400,000
Or 300,000 bales more than Oct. 1, 1867.	

AVERAGE WEIGHT.—American, 450 lbs. ; Brazilian, 175 lbs. ; Egyptian 490 lbs. ; East Indian (Surat or Bombay, 383 lbs. ; Madras or Bengal, 300), 340 lbs. ; Sundries, 300 lbs.

Such a supply may not come forward in consequence of low prices, but there is sufficient evidence that crops which would warrant such a supply have been made; and it is only a question of price whether it comes forward or not. There can be but little doubt that a supply even much less would be ample for the probable demand, as the power of Europe to consume cotton goods during the ensuing year has been very much curtailed by the disturbed condition of political affairs, but far more by bad harvests and the high prices of food. The great consumers of cotton goods are the mass of the people who live upon the earnings of each year and have little or no surplus; and the more they have to spend for food the less they have for clothing. To a certain extent, cotton goods have also been superseded by other fabrics during the period of high prices.

2d. Your Committee urge the repeal of the tax upon cotton, because it indirectly gives too great encouragement to the growth of cotton in other countries. How great this encouragement is may be realized from a statement of the cost of raising cotton in India, our principal competitor.

Upon this point your Committee are convinced, from the evidence that has been placed before them, that the cost of raising cotton in India, allowing only forty pounds as the product of clean cotton per acre, does not exceed three pence sterling,—say six cents per pound,—and that such cotton can now be laid down at $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence — say $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents per pound — in Liverpool.

The quality of India cotton has been much improved, partly from better care in the selection of native seed and the use of exotic seed, but mainly from better processes in ginning and packing,—especially in ginning; in which department new and improved gins have been introduced to a very great extent, and of a model which we may find it expedient to adopt in this country.

It may be said that India cotton is now worth on the average seventy per cent., the price of middling uplands; while a very considerable portion of the crop is worth eighty to one hundred per cent. for the manufacture of coarse goods. It will be observed that the consumption of India cotton upon the Continent of Europe was last year much greater than that of American; while in England it was less,—the reason being that the goods made upon the Continent are coarser, and labor is much cheaper.

India cotton did not cease to be grown and shipped to a certain extent when the average price in Liverpool ranged from three to four pence per pound, and the cost of transportation was far more than it now is. If it be admitted that it can now be laid down in England at $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence, or $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and is worth on the average only three-fourths the price of American, then, in order to regain the control of the cotton market of the world, we must be able to lay down middling uplands in Liverpool at $5\frac{1}{2}$ pence, or $11\frac{1}{2}$ cents, all taxes and charges paid.

It is true that our tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents is collected in currency; but, with the cost of collection, the interest on the additional capital required to move the cotton, and other incidental expences, it is equal to 2 cents in gold, or 1 penny. Deduct this from $5\frac{1}{2}$ and we have $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence, or $9\frac{1}{2}$ cents, left to cover the cost of raising our cotton, and sending it to market. It may well be asked whether we can at present do that; and this leads us to the third point upon which your Committee base their opposition to the tax upon cotton; viz., that the agricultural system of the South is undergoing an entire revolution.

Cotton did not cease to be grown at the South, nor did the crop cease to increase, even when middling cotton fell to 4 cents per pound in Southern markets; nor did the average range of $9\frac{1}{2}$ cents in Liverpool for the years

1843, '4, and '5 prevent a very rapid increase in our crop; thereby proving that it was then a profitable crop, even under the wasteful and costly system of slave labor.

Your Committee have entire confidence in the ultimate cheapness and economy of free labor as compared with slave labor, and they believe that this country, with its superior climate and soil, will presently supply as large a proportion of the demand for cotton, at as low prices, and with more profit than formerly, unless, as education and skill increase, more valuable commodities shall drive out cotton, in which case our loss would be our gain; but, during the change from the plantation to the farm system, the cost of cultivation must be high, and it is during this period that every impediment should be removed.

When slavery was abolished, the plantation system was doomed. The improved lands of the South have heretofore been held in large parcels, a small portion only under cultivation, upon an exhaustive plan, without any rotation of crops,—the remainder held for the purpose of keeping a free population at a distance, and to supply new fields as the old ones became exhausted. The change in the social order must involve an entire change in the holding of land: it will no longer be for the interest of the owner to repel immigration, but to invite it: his fictitious capital in slaves having been destroyed, he must now find real capital or value in his land; he must sell a portion in order to make the rest more valuable; he must invite the farmer to come to his aid,—the man who will get large crops from a small number of acres; he must use good tools and implements, and endeavor to introduce agricultural machinery, as in the West; and, to accomplish this, he must educate the laborer. The slave could only be trusted with rude and heavy tools; and, however intelligent the planter might have been,—and we do not deny that very many of them were very intelligent,—yet they were crippled by the very ignorance which the necessity of their system obliged them to enforce by law.

But the change is in process; and, without confiscation, and without incurring the great risk of ruining the negro population by bestowing land upon them before they have, by earning it, educated themselves to its proper use, the natural and beneficent law of freedom is working out its logical result; and we may expect, before many years, to see such changes in the social order and land tenure of the South as will bring that section to harmony and real union with the rest of the country.

But to such small farmers,—to the men who by their own labor cultivate their little patch of cotton, and, with their wives and children, pick it,—the imposition of a tax of \$10 to \$12 per bale, or 20 per cent. upon its present value, is a most onerous burden. The laboring man who has five or ten bales of cotton from his little patch cannot be expected to have \$60 to \$100 on hand in money before he has sold it, and he must either borrow money at high rates or sell his cotton at a disadvantage.

Your Committee believe that the South must continue to raise cotton, as its saleable product, to a very large extent. Until it secures a more dense and a better-educated population, its crops must be such as can be raised by what may be called the ruder or simpler methods of cultivation, and such crops are grain and cotton. And, while the Southern States will doubtless raise more grain for their own consumption than they have before, it is not believed that they can, to any very great extent, produce grain to sell in competition with the better lands and far better methods of culture of the Western States: hence their only alternative for a saleable commodity must be cotton, for many years to come.

Your Committee regret that the tax upon cotton had not been removed by the passage of an act in February last, to take effect Sept. 1, 1867. At that time two members of your Committee were in Washington, and earnestly seconded the effort of Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, to secure the passage of a bill which he then introduced, which was adopted in committee of the

whole, but thrown out by a close vote in the House. The relief is imperatively demanded at the present time; and your Committee would have advocated the passage of a law to take effect at once, had it not appeared to be impracticable to take such action in the House of Representatives.

As long since as April, 1866, one of your Committee (while advocating a tax not exceeding 2 cents, as a temporary measure, and opposing the attempt then being made to fix the rate at 5 to 10 cents per pound) used the following language:—

"Given a supply of 5,000,000 bales, *or barely enough*, is there not danger that the average price, free from taxes, would not exceed 20 cents; say for Surats or short staples, 17½; American, 22? These being the average values, in gold, without regard to taxes, and the supply being barely sufficient, the attempt to add the tax of 5 cents would be partially successful; and it would probably result in enhancing the price, say to 19 or 20 for Surats, and 24 to 25 for American.

"But let us look forward a single year beyond. Let it be admitted that the supply delivered from Nov. 1, 1866, to Nov. 1, 1867, shall be less than 5,000,000 bales, less than *enough*, and the price consequently so high as to enable this country to add the five cents' tax, can any one doubt that such price would still further stimulate production; carry that of other countries nearly or quite to 3,000,000 bales, and our own crop to 3,000,000 bales or over? Then the prices must fall to a low point, and the only tax which could possibly be borne by American cotton would be one which should represent less than the difference in value between American and Surat cotton, estimating such values at old-fashioned, or what may be called *normal* prices, say eight to nine cents for Surats, and ten to thirteen cents for American. In such event, two cents would be the highest point, and even that would have to be temporarily removed.

"It may seem absurd to intimate even the possibility of such prices so soon as the year 1868; but the whole question turns on the aggregate crop of the world being a *little more than enough*, and, if 6,000,000 bales be a *little more than enough*, such prices are possible.

"It may not be denied that at such reduction in price the cultivation of cotton would cease in many parts of the world; but India and Egypt would be slow to give up the struggle, and, in order to regain the monopoly or absolute control of the markets of the world,—which the writer fully believes our great superiority, both in point of soil and climate, entitle us to,—our cotton must be absolutely free from tax during the period of low prices which must inevitably follow the excessive prices which have prevailed."

We have given upon a previous page the estimate supply and stock of Europe for one year, from Oct. 1, 1867, to Oct. 1, 1868 5,742,000 bales.

Let us add, for our own stock and consumption, the very moderate quality of 800,000 bales.

And we have 6,542,000 bales. or a possibility of a good deal more than enough. The result has followed: the last quotation in Galveston for low middling Texas cotton, a quality equal to middling uplands, was ten cents per pound in gold.

Respectfully submitted,

E. R. MUDGE,
GEO. L. WARD,
EDWARD ATKINSON, } Committee.
C. W. FREELAND,
C. O. WHITMORE,

DECEMBER, 1867.

Since the above was written, cotton has sold as low in some of the interior towns as nine and ten cents currency, of which one-fourth has been taken for taxes.

The receipts of cotton, owing to the pressing necessities of planters and factors, are about 130,000 bales in round numbers in excess of the receipts same time last year, and our trans-atlantic friends argue from this, that the crop has been under-estimated, and some authorities in England predict that it will sum out 3,000,000 of bales. They will find themselves grievously mistaken. We think it more than probable that half of the crop has already reached market—knowing the causes that were operating to hurry it forward—and even with these large receipts, our stock is now 192,000 bales short of what it was same time last year.

The course of the market since our last has involved slight fluctuations, and prices at the close on Friday evening, as reported by the *Financial Chronicle*, of the 8th inst., to which we are indebted for our tables, were very steady, and the market active at the following figures :

RECEIPTS AND EXPORTS OF COTTON (BALES) SINCE SEPT. 1, AND STOCKS AT DATES MENTIONED.*

PORTS.	Received since Sept. 1.	EXPORTED SINCE SEPT. 1 TO—				Ship- ments to North'n Ports.	Stock.
		Great Britain.	France.	Other For'gn.	Total.		
New Orleans, Jan. 10....	273,970	86,330	43,743	48,354	178,426	38,482	113,910
Mobile, Jan. 10.....	307,340	64,937	7,623	4,811	77,371	16,767	74,107
Charleston, Jan. 10.....	123,203	34,832	1,115	9,749	45,689	60,706	21,152
Savannah, Jan. 10.....	254,326	68,056	2,633	3,755	74,448	123,898	60,550
Texas, Jan. 3.....	73,740	1,285	—	—	2,282	3,567	4,405
New York, Jan. 17*.....	50,979	111,989	12,103	31,009	155,092	—	45,312
Florida, Jan. 10†.....	12,618	—	—	—	—	2,346	2,346
North Carolina, Jan. 17.....	17,063	—	—	—	—	17,063	—
Virginia, Jan. 17.....	51,929	1,996	—	—	1,996	49,982	—
Other ports, Jan. 17*.....	11,773	5,578	—	399	5,557	—	130,000
Total this year.....	1,025,937	374,587	67,215	100,859	542,161	313,586	364,074
Same time last year.....	888,851	215,433	36,575	24,776	376,834	376,766	546,150

* In this table, as well as in our general table of receipts, etc., we deduct from the receipts at each port for the week all received at such port from other Southern ports. For instance, each week there is a certain amount shipped from Florida to Savannah, which in estimating the total receipts must be deducted as the same shipment appears in the Florida return. We are thus particular in the statement of this fact as some of our readers fail to understand it.

† These are the receipts at Apalachicola to January 4, and at the other ports of Florida to Jan. 10.

‡ Estimated.

	Upland.	Florida.	Mobile.	New Orleans & Texas.
Ordinary.....per lb. 14	14	14	15	15
Good ordinary.....	16	16	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Low middling.....	16	16	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Middling.....	17@17 $\frac{1}{2}$	17@17 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ @17 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ @17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Good middling.....	17	17	18	18

RECEIPTS OF BREADSTUFFS AT NEW YORK.

The *Shipping List* has the following, showing the receipts of breadstuffs at New York for 1867 and 1866:

	1866.	1867.
Wheat, flour, bbls.	2,720,835	2,602,803
Corn meal.	263,833	228,417
Wheat, bu.	5,729,912	9,640,131
Rye, bu.	1,314,043	765,376
Oats, bu.	8,811,064	8,030,807
Barley, bu.	5,695,480	2,669,724
Peas, bu.	552,780	668,457
Corn, bu.	22,189,532	14,979,277

With the single exception of wheat, it will be seen that the receipts fall below those of 1866. It is to be remembered, however, that nearly four millions of bushels of grain were, unfortunately, frozen in on the canal, which, in the present condition of the market, is peculiarly unfortunate. Notwithstanding the importation of wheat into the United Kingdom since September 1st reached within a fraction of 11,000,000 cwt., against a little over 5,500,000 cwt. in the corresponding period last year, the English markets are represented as being rather moderately supplied. This indicates a very large consumption, despite of high value, and we are advised by cable dispatches that prices, after having declined some three shillings from the highest point of the autumn, are again tending upward. As but little can be expected from the continent during the winter, it is a matter of regret that more of our wheat supply is not immediately available.

GOLD FROM CALIFORNIA.

The amount of treasure brought to New York, by the steamers from San Francisco and Aspinwall, for the last 14 years, is as follows:

Years.	Amount.	Years.	Amount.
1854.	\$46,553,116	1861.	\$34,370,557
1855.	41,682,524	1862.	24,882,846
1856.	40,319,929	1863.	11,905,478
1857.	34,222,904	1854.	12,952,967
1858.	36,179,344	1865.	21,444,193
1859.	39,975,750	1866.	41,901,005
1860.	38,490,400	1867.	29,806,328

Total for 14 years \$449,787,240

Touching the movement and production of gold and coin, the New York *Stockholder* has the following:

From the port of New York, which receives and sends nearly all the coin which goes out of or comes into the country, it appears that there were exported in 1867 coin and bullion to the amount of \$51,801,048. The receipts from California meantime, according to the steamers' manifests, were \$27,982,785; and there were imported from foreign countries, \$3,306,339. The balance on the export side of the account is \$20,512,824. We probably received \$25,000,000 overland from Montana, Colorado, etc., and from other sources than the Pacific States. The production of the precious metals in the United States and Territories is set down for the year at \$80,000,000. If this statement approximate accuracy, we have retained in the country some \$32,000,000 of the year's product, which is quite enough, perhaps, to keep from one year's yield, inasmuch as gold and silver for the purposes of currency are used only in the Pacific States, and there no scarcity was felt even before the residuum of this year's product entered into the supply.

ART. XI.—DEPARTMENT OF MINING AND MANUFACTURES.

1.—THE KALMIA MILLS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

A RARE opportunity is afforded to our readers by the present proprietors of this fine property, in their proposition to merge their interests with that of new subscribers in a stock company, to make a most advantageous investment, and one that is certain in an early future to pay large dividends. The causes that have moved the present owners to make this offer are, first, the lack of means to complete the works; and next, their desire to start the enterprise with a sufficient working capital to ensure against any possible embarrassment. To show the inducements offered, we will first extract, from a neat pamphlet just received, a statement of the actual outlays already made upon the property.

The Kalmia Mills Company,—chartered by the General Assembly of South Carolina,—commenced in March, 1866, to erect at this place a Cotton Factory of ten thousand spindles, with looms and all machinery necessary to manufacture good brown cotton goods, and also a Paper Mill, capable of producing six thousand pounds of paper per day. Under the charter, one hundred and eighty-one thousand (\$181,000) dollars was raised and expended in prosecuting the design, but as this sum was less than half the amount estimated as requisite for the complete construction of the works, and the Stockholders being unable, owing to the condition of the country, to furnish the necessary sum, a loan for one year was effected in New York, and a mortgage given on the property to secure the loan, by which the additional sum of one hundred and eighty thousand (\$180,000) dollars was obtained and used in pushing the work towards completion; but the two amounts combined being still over one hundred thousand (\$100,000) dollars less than was needed to accomplish this object, and the Stockholders finding themselves, at the end of the year, unable to meet the payment of the loan, or to satisfy the holders of the mortgage of their ability to complete the works, so as to bring them into profitable operation, the mortgage was foreclosed by consent of parties, and the entire property sold at public auction, and we became the purchasers for the sum of two hundred and ten thousand (\$210,000) dollars, which was the amount of the bonded and the floating debt; the Kalmia Mills Company sinking all they had invested in the work. We obtained an extension of the loan, and have succeeded in nearly finishing the Village and Cotton Mill building, and in placing most of the cotton machinery into it; but here our resources fail us, and we require aid to enable us to complete the Water Works and the Paper Mill; we also desire to pay at least a part of the loan and secure a commercial capital to enable us to conduct the operations of our business.

In order that we may enlist in our interests the aid of capitalists, we proceed to make a detailed statement of the money expended, and the property owned by us, with such other information as will satisfy all competent to judge of the great advantages we have, and the certainty of speedy and ample returns to such as may see proper to join in this enterprise.

MONEY EXPENDED.

4,259 acres of land, with water powers, &c.	\$25,325 00
Seventy-eight cottages, containing 329 rooms,.....		62,990 00
Cotton Factory building,.....		89,878 01
Office building,.....		400 00

Machine shop, Blacksmith's shop, permanent stables, and dry house,.....	1,805 00
Material and work done on Paper Mill,.....	8,653 75
All work done on Water Power, including embankments, wheel pit, tail race, &c., &c,.....	22,848 81
Cotton and Paper machinery,.....	151,117 92
Machinery in Machine shop, and tools in Blacksmith shop,.....	3,852 00
Machinery in Carpenter Shop and Saw Mill, not including boilers, pulleys, &c., which belong to Paper and Cotton machinery,..	14,628 53
Fire-hose, pump, &c., for extinguishing fire,.....	485 00
Sundry articles belonging to "Construction account," such as iron, rope, blocks, tackle, earth cars, carts, wagons, harness, wheel-barrows, picks, shovels, axes, &c., &c, with about 350,000 feet lumber and timber, estimated at.....	7,500 00
Office furniture, safe, &c.,.....	1,062 55
	<hr/>
	\$390,536 52

In this estimate, the machinery, which is mostly in the original packages, is taken at cost laid down in the mill building. Of the buildings, the most careful and exact calculations of the quantity of materials used in their construction have been made, and all put at the *present* market price, without reference to their original cost, and nothing has been allowed for many unavoidable expenses, absolutely essential in commencing such an enterprise. The first start in building a Village, Factory, &c., involves various preliminary outlays, which yet in the end add nothing to the value of the property. When we first began building, in March, 1866, there were only such accommodations on the land as belong to an ordinary farmstead, and it became necessary to erect temporary shelter for a large number of mechanics, laborers, mules, etc. For this no allowance has been made, nor has any value been attached to those large and strong, but still temporary buildings, in which the carpenters' work has been done; nor for the saw mill building; nor for the salaries of engineer, clerks, and other officers and agents; nor for the concomitant loss of interest and other expenses, inevitable in the construction of works of necessarily slow progress to final results.

These items have actually cost many thousands of dollars, and all of these expenses were absolutely necessary, and cannot be avoided in the construction of such property. If they were all added, they would bring the present cost of the property to a sum exceeding \$450,000.

In support of the above statement we would state that we know the property well and are cognizant of all the facts mentioned, besides having a personal acquaintance with the present proprietors, who are all enterprising and trustworthy gentlemen. The favorable terms upon which they invite new capital are best stated in their own language.

The present owners of this property never expected to finish it from their own resources, but always intended to invite others to join in doing so, and they now propose to raise a new company, procure a charter, elect officers, and push all the works to completion. They offer to put in the property at just what it cost them, as shown by their books, which is \$270,613.

Of this sum, \$180,000 is the mortgaged debt, \$150,000 of which the holders are willing to let remain on the property at 7 per cent. per annum. If the entire debt is lifted, the property all finished, and a working capital secured, then it will be necessary in all to raise \$400,000, of which \$100,000 will be left over for commercial capital, and, for \$300,000, the new Company will own a property costing in all fully \$550,000; but if it be deemed desirable to continue the loan of \$150,000, then the sum of \$250,000 will be sufficient, and in either case the present owners will be able to contribute

from the amount they now have invested, from what they are able still to furnish in cash in the next sixty days, and from friends who are willing to join in the enterprise, a sum equal to \$125,000, or one-half the sum actually needed to put the property in successful working order. They therefore now most earnestly appeal to capitalists, both North and South, to join them in this important enterprise, on a basis so obviously to their advantage, and to secure the completion and successful continuance of their Mills, and furnish to the laboring people of this section the employment they so much need.

Independently of the Mill property, the Company will have large sources of revenue from the extensive beds of Kaolin and Yellow Ochre—both of the best quality—and from the Buler Stone Quarries, which are found in large quantities upon their landed property. There is a steady demand for the Kaolin, at high prices, and cheap transportation is at hand by way of the Savannah River, to the port of Savannah, where it is transhipped to factories in New Jersey and elsewhere in the North. The property is situated upon the South Carolina Railroad, and is only eight miles from Augusta, Georgia, in a section of country unsurpassed for salubrity of climate, health, and manufacturing facilities. There are several Cotton, Paper, and other manufactures in the neighborhood, and the white population, which is quite dense, has been trained to be reliable operatives. There are many other advantages enumerated in the pamphlet, for which we cannot now find space; but parties desiring to know more about the matter may address B. F. Evans, Aiken, South Carolina, who will furnish all necessary information.

The reflections and arguments in the subjoined extract are as applicable to any of the other southern states as to South Carolina. In all of them immense sources of wealth await but the restoration of order and the influx of capital to contribute largely to our national greatness and prosperity. The South is not wholly dependent upon her agriculture, however important this industry may be considered in an estimate of her resources. There is not a mineral or a metal in common use that is not hidden in her bosom, and means must and will be found to unearth these secret treasures and make them available in our economy. In the development of these varied industries, there is a future for the South which will compensate for the loss of her monopoly of the great staple; and the restlessness of the energies to which they will give vitality may lead to a more substantial and enduring degree of prosperity than ever hitherto attained. The extract is as follows:—

The fortunes of the South, spite of all present embarrassments, are within its own shaping and control. We do not believe that there is another region on earth—and we have traversed a large portion of the world's surface—so well calculated, by climate and natural resources, to develop greatness, as the Southern States of America. They have shown this capacity in their great staples, which, for so long a season, held the monopoly of the world. The intellectual resources of the South are not inferior to those which belong to the soil. They will recover their equilibrium, will recuperate, will acknowledge the law which impels them to a diversified industry, and, after a little delay, will penetrate the new provinces of art and labor which await them. The notion that by any legislation, party operations, factions, or passions, six millions of the Caucasian race will ever submit to the domination of three millions of negroes, is impossible. While

all men of sense in the South submit to the decrees emancipating the negro, and are now quite willing that he should develope for himself, in what degree he can, without let or hindrance, it requires a great stretch of the imagination to conceive of their submission to his sway. The mischief, however, of this notion finding currency, has kept from us much of that capital, which, while feeding and clothing the poor negro, would have enabled the superior race to work out the problem of prosperity for all. And, if emancipation has opened to the negro superior wants and desires, it has also shown the necessity for the establishment of home means for meeting them.

Every suggestion of the thought—every fact in our experience—teaches us most impressively that it is to manufactures we must look as the great agency for the acquisition of wealth, the restoration of peace, and the development alike of our mental and natural resources in the South. That the South *ought* to be a manufacturing region, is the natural conclusion which we are to draw from our knowledge of its natural resources. That, with these resources, so superior as we know them to be, we can compete with the North and East, with any people in the wide world. We have the raw material on the spot, whether we consider cotton the great staple, or the ores, the ochres, the minerals and metals which the South possesses in abundance; and there are thousands of unexplored precincts in the South which are destined hereafter to a most wondrous development of wealth. Our swamp and mountain regions in Carolina have never been explored, examined, or even penetrated. Our water power is limitless. The salubrity of our middle and mountain country is such that we scarcely need the physician. In respect to our operatives, drawn from the humbler classes, we may boldly state that there has always been a much larger laboring white population in the South than was generally believed. Wherever manufactories have been established, there was no difficulty in procuring the necessary amount of labor; and this labor has been found fully equal to that of any manufacturing country in the world. This class of population has been greatly increased by the results of the late disastrous civil war. Thousands of poor women and children in South Carolina are absolutely begging for employment; crying to us, "give us work or we perish." They seek nothing but food and clothing. In establishing such manufactories as we propose, we minister to the best interests of humanity.

Of our present resident population, we may say that we must either furnish these destitutes with employment or we must furnish them bread. We cannot see them perish from famine. We see no refuge from this miserable prospect but in the erection of Factories, School-houses, and Churches. Either these or Poor-houses, Penitentiaries, and Jails. We can and should make of these wretched sufferers a thriving population, industrious, invaluable—the most valuable capital, indeed, in the constitution of the State. And, we thus solve the problem, which is the most difficult and distressing of all those which now vex the densely populous regions of the European world—we reconcile the interests of capital with the necessities of labor. We make the one play into the hands of the other. The *profits* of the manufacturer, in all well managed establishments, in a region of such advantages as ours—where all the agencies are favorable—where the climate is mild, genial and salubrious—may well afford to yield a substantial life support to the industrious poor. The comparative cost of paper and cloth manufactories, South and North, has been demonstrated by competent authorities and careful estimates, to be at least fifteen per cent. cheaper in the former than the latter region, and for these reasons:

1. The difference in the cost of the raw material; from savings in freight, cost of transportation, waste, loss of weight, etc., estimated from 10 to 12 per cent.

2. Cheaper labor, occasioned by the excess of demand for it in the North, and the excess of supply (among the poor white classes) in the South—

cheaper living in the South—the abundance of fuel and the milder climate of the South, affording to the poor advantages which are unknown at the North. No rents are to be paid here—no fuel to be bought, and there are no social vanities perpetually egging on poverty to emulation with the better off, in shows and expenditures.

3. The mildness of the climate not only admits of a more regular and equitable system of labor, but is more favorable to all the uses of the raw material in manufacture. It is found that, with us, cotton is always in better condition for being worked. This assertion is unquestionable. It is the conviction and admission of all experience, in all properly conducted factories, which have been free from debt and provided with an ample commercial capital.

2.—IRON RESOURCES OF MISSOURI.

The *Pittsburg Commercial* has the following remarks on the dilatoriness of the people of Missouri in developing the immense mineral resources of that State, which nature with lavish hand has bestowed upon them. The comparison of ascertained results, there and in Michigan, reflects heavily upon the want of enterprise which has so long neglected to improve and develope such certain sources of wealth and greatness.

Dr. Litton, in the geological report of the State of Missouri, estimates that the Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, in St. Francis county, contain, above the surface of the valley, enough specular and magnetic iron ore to supply one million tons annually for two hundred years. Prof. Swallow, who examined the coal beds, estimates that there are in the State 26,887 square miles of coal, eight feet thick. The south-eastern counties are covered with the most valuable kinds of timber for charcoal purposes—besides the best in the world for ship-building—and millions of acres of pine scarcely yet touched by the ax of the woodsman. A late writer on the resources of the State says: "Our iron mills ought to be equal to our resources. With coal and wood abundant and cheap, with masses of ore which centuries cannot exhaust, St. Louis, or its vicinity, ought to be the great central machine shop of the West. Our iron works ought to rival those of Pittsburg, Birmingham and Sheffield."

The people of St. Louis are just now awaking from a sort of *Rip Van Winkle* sleep, and the papers come to us filled with the importance of moving on. They propose, however, to move on the same old legs, bearing the same old gun and traps, into another *Sleepy Hollow*. Pittsburg owes to St. Louis the good will due to a profitable customer, and we heartily wish her success in the iron business. The growth of the Great West makes room enough for us both. Ten years ago St. Louis reached her Iron Mountain by a railroad big with expectation of grand results, which have not been realized. However successful her present experiment with the "Big Muddy Coal" may prove, its result, as for the general good, will be a like disappointment, unless the causes of the past failure can be removed.

When the railroad reached the great mountain of ore "capable of producing a million of tons per annum," the iron mines of Michigan were almost untouched, yet, during the present year, the latter actually produced more than half a million of tons. In the vicinity of the latter there are fourteen blast furnaces in operation and in process of erection, but the greater portion of the ore is brought to the coal mines of Ohio and Pennsylvania. The following table, showing the product of the several Michigan companies three or four weeks previous to the close of navigation, taken from the *Lake Superior Mining News*, is suggestive:—

Mines	Tons.
Jackson,	125,000
Grays,	115,000
Lake Superior,	90,000
Cleveland,	52,000
Pittsburg and Lake Angeline,	50,000
New York,	24,000
Washington,	10,000
New England,	6,000
Marquette,	5,000
Edwards,	2,000
Iron Mountain,	500
Champion,	33,000
Sent to Local Furnaces,	
Total,	512,500

If, whilst this rapid development has been going on, any progress whatever has been made in the Sleepy Hollow in which the two great Missouri iron mountains repose, we have not heard of it.

We look upon this contrast as a striking illustration of the manner in which the grandest industrial capabilities may be smothered by monopoly. The advantages of variety and quality of ore, *capable of being reached*; of climate, agricultural capacity, fuel, both coal and wood; accessibility to navigation, etc., are, in our judgment, superior to those of Michigan. If St. Louis will but extend her Iron Mountain Railroad forty or fifty miles further into the heart of her great iron region, which is now closed to competitive enterprise, she will soon reach the high destiny to which she so longingly aspires.

We may as well admit, that besides good-will to St. Louis, we have a deep interest in the matter. Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati and intermediate points want two or three hundred thousand tons per annum of the various ores of Missouri, described by Dr. Litton, and we want to send back barges which bring it, laden with coal to smelt as much more at the furnaces of St. Louis and Carondelet. Give us a chance by opening up your iron region to the enterprise of our manufacturers, and we will do it—"Big Muddy" to the contrary, notwithstanding.

ART. XIII.—DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

1.—NEW FEATURES IN SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE.

In the loss of her cotton monopoly, the South experienced a shock to the planting interests from which, for a time, it seemed she would not recover; but in the new direction given to thought, and in the energies called forth by the desperate condition of Southern agriculture, we see grounds for hope that the restoration of the States to civil government under acceptable legislation, will be speedily followed by a revival of this her leading industry as marked as its fall was sudden and disastrous. But the material prosperity of the South must, in its agricultural features, rest not so much upon any one great staple product as upon her fitness for a great variety of products enabling her primarily to supply every want necessary to a perfect condition of independence, and then to have some one thing or other which will find ready sale at all times in the markets of the world.

A gentleman from Belfast, who has a life-long experience in the cultivation

and manufacture of flax, is now in this country for the purpose of testing the question whether or not its introduction on an extensive scale in certain portions of the South would not prove in the highest degree remunerative. From estimates made in our presence, in which every expenditure was carefully included, and on a liberal basis, it was demonstrated that a net profit of at least seventy dollars an acre might be relied on; and in addition to this a handsome per centage would accrue if suitable spinning and weaving mills were erected near the fields of culture. Beyond the mere production and simple weaving into cloth of this valuable textile, an incidental branch of manufacture would be developed—the making of lace—which would furnish employment to many of our young ladies now in reduced circumstances; a branch of the business, he says, easily learned by the most ignorant of the Irish peasantry, but which will gain much both in delicacy of finish and beauty of design by falling into the hands of intelligent young women. From information we were able to give him, having often seen considerable consignments of flax-seed from North Carolina in Charleston, and having ourselves received during the war large shipments of shoe-thread of excellent quality from the same State—he will first visit the locality where successful efforts have already been made in producing the plant, and then make a general tour of several States to see how far its cultivation may be extended. We are promised some interesting particulars on this subject from his pen, which we hope to receive in time for our March number.

Another gentleman, a cosmopolitan in the extent of his practical knowledge and large travelled experience, assures us that from careful observation and comparison of soil and climate, he is satisfied that figs of equal, if not of superior quality, can be grown and prepared in Florida in quantities more than sufficient to supply the entire home demand for this favorite fruit, and that with a little attention the size and quality could be so greatly improved as to create a profitable demand for export.

The cultivation of the *Palma Christi*, or castor bean, is esteemed a profitable pursuit in Southern Illinois, where the yield rarely exceeds twenty bushels to the acre. Our climate is infinitely superior in every respect for the cultivation of this plant, and while we know that in some parts of Florida it will yield two hundred bushels to the acre, we think we simply venture to predict that one hundred bushels would reward the labor of the grower for every acre planted in the best of cotton States south of Tennessee and Arkansas. There is no danger of over-production, for besides being a popular family medicine—a regular mother's panacea, of which we have shuddering and nauseous recollections—the oil is extensively used for illuminating purposes, and under new processes of refining, which would be suggested by abundance and cheapness, might be adapted to many other useful purposes.

We might enumerate a score or two of equally novel and profitable products for the South, but we desire now to call attention to one which promises so well that we scarcely dare to believe all that is said about it. We refer to *Ramie*, a new textile, introduced into this country by Professor Baez, and now successfully acclimated in the South. We find in the Mississippi *Clarion* a full description of the plant and some interesting facts with regard to its culture, which we publish without abridgement.

ITS CULTIVATION AND USE.

The Ramie belongs to the family of the nettles. Whoever saw a luxuriant nettle standing in a fence corner awaiting the unwary to make its hands smart, has a nearly true picture of the ramie in its appearance. The only striking difference is, the ramie has the leaves a little shorter, but broader than the nettle. The ramie, standing single, is inclined to make many side shoots or laterals, which is especially the case by the first planting. As soon as it has been once or twice cut down, close to or rather above one inch under the ground, and the roots have become stronger, a large number of ratoons will sprout from the roots and tuberous, and a few or no side shoots will show them-

sevles. The shoots from the roots or ratoons will stand close and push each other up. These close-standing shoots contain the best fibre; they are hollow, almost as much so as a cane. As soon as the fibre has the proper strength, the stem begins to color a little darker near the ground. The size, which the plants reach in a certain time, varies according to richness and kind of soil, as well as weather and mode of cultivation. As a general rule it may be said, as soon as the stems have reached a little more than four feet, the fibre will be of good quality, but does not get hurt if left uncut until it reaches eight or ten feet in length.

CULTURE OF RAMIE—A GARDEN CULTURE.

The garden culture consists in raising in a fast way, young plants to be transplanted in the field. Although they can be multiplied very fast, it will take considerable time to have sufficient plants to plant large fields. The multiplying of plants is done by roots, layers, or cuttings from the stems, which latter ought to be cut in pieces from four to six inches in length. The best way to start is to buy young rooted plants in a growing condition, when such can be had. The writer of this has a large number of such plants for sale, and is able to send such guaranteed to any part of the South, where express agencies are established. The best way to plant in the garden or nursery is in narrow beds, so as the young plants can be taken away, and the old ones not being hurt by stepping too much upon them. A good way is the following: The soil has to be worked about twelve to fourteen inches deep, pulverized and cleaned of all weedy roots; the plants are planted in about three to four inches deep furrows, so that when they are afterwards hilled, the ground becomes very near level. As soon as the plant is six to eight inches high, the top ought to be nipped off. In this way, side shoots will start from almost every leaf. When they have reached four to five inches in length, then the plant ought to be covered with earth, and nothing but the tops of the side-shoots left to be seen. All these side-shoots will soon make roots, when they can be cut off from the mother plant and transplanted, either in the field or in the nursery. The mother plant has now strong roots, and will very soon have ratoons, which have to be treated like the side-shoots mentioned above, and when strong enough and rooted can be transplanted, etc. The reader will observe in this way the plant can be multiplied fast and sure. It is needed to keep the bed free of weeds, and the ground ought to be loose around the plants. A rich, rather sandy soil is, I believe, the best for the nursery.

It cannot be too much recommended to have the piece of land intended for ramie deep cultivated; subsoiled to fourteen inches would not be too deep, and this is the most laborious work in the whole cultivation. The first year the weeds have to be cut out, but this will give but little trouble. The second year the plant will have so many ratoons that other plants will have no room to vegetate. From this time the cultivation will give very little trouble, except one plowing between the rows early in spring, and spreading manure over the fields during the winter season, which pays very well and cannot be too much recommended here, as for other plants. The field ought to be laid off in a piece for about twenty rows in width, and a passage left to go with a cart or wagon through. In this way the plants will not be hurt with the wagon wheels in gathering ramie. The rows ought to be about three feet apart, and the plants in the rows have that distance. When the field is ready for planting, that is plowed and cleaned, then it is harrowed, a furrow is then made every three feet, about three to four inches deep, and in these furrows the plants are placed, but with a little more care than the negroes often plant sweet potatoes. The furrows ought to be made so that the rain does not stand too long, yet all heavy washing out to be prevented. Rooted plants as well as layers ought to be covered with earth nearly to the tops, and if the shoots are too long on rooted plants, cut back to two or three leaves. Roots ought to be covered with earth about two or three inches deep. In case some plants or roots should not grow, the vacancies should be filled as soon as possible, to get an even growing field. As

soon as the plants have reached seven or eight inches they ought to be topped like in the nursery, to force the plants to form side shoots. When the latter are grown to about five or six inches in length the plant has a kind of bushy appearance; then the plant is hilled nearly to the top, and at the same time all weeds destroyed. The plant is left to grow now until it has reached the height of about three feet, when it is cut down even with the ground, or better, one inch below. The fibre of this first growth can be used, but is not perfect yet, because the roots and bulbs are not yet large enough, and there are as yet too many side shoots. A few days after this cutting a great many ratoons will make their appearance on the surface. The whole work now consists in keeping out all weeds. This second growth will be, under similar circumstances; a great deal more rapid than the first was, and can be cut when about four feet high; each growth will have less undershoots, and soon they will disappear altogether. The planting in the field ought to be done in spring, but can be continued until late in August and beginning of September. Those which are planted late to be covered in winter time with straw or leaves, because these have yet too young and tender roots to resist severe frosts and freezings. Those planted early in spring and fore part of summer do not need any protection, as they will make roots eighteen to twenty four inches deep. All refuse matter falling off in cleaning the fibre ought to be fed, or dried and put in the barn for winter use. All the manure coming from the plant ought to be carefully gathered and brought back on the field. In this way, such a field will give a rich return for many years, without need of being replanted. The experience in regard to what kind of soil will be the best, and whatever soil will produce this plant, is until now limited, but so much is certain that a sandy, rich loam suits the plant very well, or any soil which has a water-retaining subsoil. Wherever rain falls from time to time the plant can be grown as far North as cotton, or as far North as the earth does not freeze more than four inches deep in winter time. The best section of this country will be the Southern part of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina and Florida whole. More experience will bring this plant acclimated to many places where now it is supposed it could not be cultivated.

USE OF THE RAMIE.

The ramie is useful in two ways. It contains, first, a silklike fibre of uncommon strength and fineness; and second, furnishes the refuse matter an excellent food for stock, which can in quality be compared favorably with clover, as stated by the well-known botanist B. Baezl, who introduced this plant last spring into this country. The fibre not only will replace the cotton, but is bound to be a strong rival to flax. In strength this fibre is nearest to the silk, and as soon as there is a little more experience and intelligence brought in requisition by the cultivation and manufacture there, it will be merely a question of time, and it will be the best substitute for silk. Suppose this plant having none of this useful fibre, its cultivation would be of immense advantage as food or stock in a great many sections of the South. Another most important point in introducing the ramie here is its easy and almost certain cultivation, because the first year its cultivation does not give more work than sweet potatoes, and afterwards the main labor, and most all the labor, consists in harvesting. The quantity of fibre will be more than cotton, notwithstanding its being worth more than twice the price of the best cotton.

From the refuse matter of the stems there can be a gum manufactured. Chemistry and American enterprise will soon develop it. In case a field should be turned over after a series of years for some other purpose, then the roots and bulbs will make excellent food for hogs, or can be manufactured into a durable dye.

The fences have to be kept in good order, because if cows and hogs are once accustomed to it, they will break down a poor fence. During the winter time

cows and sheep can be turned into a ramie fields, but neither horses nor hogs. The plant until now has no destructive enemies. The so-called nettle worm makes, in some seasons, its appearance, but never hurts the fibre, and is satisfied with the lower leaves of the plant, and is in this way harmless.

Concerning the cleaning of the fibre, there is a cheap and very effective machine invented by Mr. B. Baezl. With his assistance, I shall give a detailed explanation in another article. I have also entered into co-partnership with Mr. B. Batol for the sale of plants, so as to be able to furnish roots direct from Mexico, or young growing plants acclimated here. Any other information will be cheerfully given by the undersigned, or by my partner Mr. B. Baezl, who is at present in New Orleans superintending the erection of machines, one of which will be on exhibition at the next State Fair of Louisiana, which begins on the 7th of January next.

Summit, Miss., Dec. 24, 1867.

G. HUNIZKEE.

ART. XIV.—DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND LABOR.

1.—REPORT OF GENERAL WAGENER, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

OUR readers have manifested so much interest in the progress of the Immigration movement, so comprehensively conducted by the commissioner in South Carolina, that we are sure they will be interested in the report of the operations of the bureau under the management of this zealous officer during the past year, which we print below from a manuscript copy kindly furnished by the commissioner.

Superficially regarded the report would indicate a very limited success, but a careful survey of the work accomplished discovers germs of promise which with proper care will bear abundant fruits in the future. The ice once broken—a nucleus formed, the labors of each succeeding year will be more amply rewarded, for each settler, if prosperous, becomes an active agent for the bureau—and has relatives and friends in the old country wearing out life in the desperate struggle to sustain it, whom he will urge and help to come and share his good fortune. The great West has been populated in this way to a large extent, and it surprised us to learn, upon looking into the matter, how many passages were secured and paid for on this side of the water.

The disturbed condition of the country is a serious drawback to any large measure of success at the outset of the movement. The bureau should be in condition to advance the passage money which our planters are too poor to do, and to wait a reasonable time on the laborer, endorsed by the employer, for its return, but the impoverished condition of the State Treasury renders this plan now impossible. The suggestion of a direct steamship communication with Europe is not so impracticable as at first it may appear. It is only necessary to show that such a line will pay, and the capitalists of Germany will manage all the rest. We think that very soon—if the present scheme of reconstruction fails, and it must fail—such a showing can be made, and that the line will be established.

The South Carolina Bureau has been economically administered, and over a fourth of the small appropriation made for its support is unexpended.

The commissioner makes several practical suggestions which can be carried out with the means on hand, and which will increase the usefulness of the bureau. He promises to submit shortly a scheme for aiding the efforts of the bureau which we shall take pleasure in laying before our readers.

The report is as follows:

S. C. BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION, CHARLESTON, January 1, 1868.

To his Excellency James L. Orr, Governor of South Carolina:

SIR: Conformably to the act of the General Assembly of 1866, and in obedience to the request of your Excellency, I respectfully submit the following brief report of the operations of this bureau:

On the 18th of February last, I had the honor to receive the appointment of commissioner. I forthwith advertised in all the papers of the State for registration of lands for sale, and for notice of such labor as should be wanted. At the same time I prepared a pamphlet for distribution in the countries of Europe and of our Northern States and cities, containing a sketch of the history and resources of South Carolina, with other matters of useful information, and such registries of lands and labor as had been made, to which was appended a map of the State. Of this 5,000 copies have been printed in English, 5,000 in German, 2,000 in Danish and 2,000 in Swedish.

In April, your Excellency appointed Mr. Ferler the agent for Scandinavia, and in May, Captain Melchers for Germany, and Major Ryan for Ireland, Messrs. Ferler and Melchers, after having given bonds for the faithful discharge of their duties, sailed for their fields of operation in May; but Major Ryan, having since removed to Texas, has resigned his office, and no successor to him has as yet been appointed. In June, I found it necessary to publish a circular to the citizens of the State, urging their co-operation with the efforts of this bureau. In August, I had obtained so many additional registries that I deemed it proper to publish another pamphlet, Supplement No. 1, in which, at the same time, I endeavored to reply to some animadversions of the European press. This has also been published in English, German, and the Scandinavian languages. I have on several occasions, been strongly advised to publish a translation of the pamphlets in French, but not being myself a sufficient master of that language to perform this task, I would ask the concurrence of your Excellency, and your permission to employ a translator at a reasonable charge. There is no doubt that our success depends very much on a liberal distribution of useful information of our State and her resources, and of gaining, in this manner, the attention of the emigrant. I have encountered very bitter opposition in my endeavours, both at home and abroad, but I have also found numerous friends and well-wishers, even in the North and in Europe, and their advice has uniformly been to print in every language and scatter our pamphlets broadcast everywhere.

During the year, I have delivered several addresses in various parts of our State, for the purpose of awakening a general interest in the measures of immigration, which, through the kindness of the press and Dr. Bow's REVIEW, have been extensively circulated. In October, I published another circular, with special reference to labor, contracts and the advance of the passage money for such industrious immigrants as could, in that manner, be enabled to accept employment in our State. From Germany and Scandinavia, many such could have been obtained; but I am sorry to say, that our people were so embarrassed in ready means, that no result was obtained. Having received advices from our agents that it might be possible to establish a line of steamers to Charleston, if any encouragement of reasonable success could be obtained, I took the liberty to address letters to the Charleston Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade, of which your Excellency

received copies at the time, requesting of them such information as they, above all, could best furnish regarding the matter; but no reply has been received, excepting a note from the President of the Board of Trade, that he would forward the matter with a hearty good will. I am grieved at this, because our merchants are a class of well informed people, capable of making reliable reports, that would exercise a powerful influence in Europe. A line of steamers would be of the greatest benefit to us, not only in the matter of trade, but in giving us a share of the better class of immigrants, who generally prefer to cross the ocean in that manner. Besides, I am of opinion, that by inducing the railroads to combine a reduced rate of fare to Memphis, and getting such a line of steamers, the port of Charleston might become the entry for immigrants to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee, etc. The immense value of this must be obvious to all, without my going into any further details of reasoning.

In accordance with the requirements of the law, I have opened a book for the registry of lands, and these now number 125 proprietors, with 311,272 acres of lands, at rates of 50 cents to \$15 per acre—generally ranging from \$3 to \$8; in a few instances, exceeding even the highest mentioned figure. Of these, two plantations have been sold through this agency to Northern parties, and one has been settled by the proprietors with a small colony of Germans, and called Germanville, on such just and liberal terms, that it is certain to succeed and increase rapidly. Other registered property is now being treated for by Northern parties, and I have the assurance from Pennsylvania, that a company of mechanics and other men of enterprise is now being formed, to purchase one of our water-powers and develop it at once.

I have also opened books for employers, and another for employees. 101 persons have obtained work in the country, and our railroads have kindly, upon my request, forwarded them at half fare. Another book, a general registry of immigrants, shows that 248 persons have arrived in this State, of whom this office has had cognizance. Many more have arrived, but, not having applied to me, have not been registered. Of the 248 the greater portion (147) have found employment in Charleston, one of them only having reported sick and gone to the hospital. I have received and answered nearly 400 hundred letters, and have distributed nearly 1,000 pamphlets in the Northern States and cities. I had advertisements in the German and Irish papers of New York, which have brought me a number of applications for special information, and for situations, which I was not always able to furnish. In the absence of our agent for Ireland, I have accepted the kind aid of several gentlemen and shipmasters, to distribute in that country and in Scotland, several hundred pamphlets. But I deem it of importance that the office should now be filled, and would respectfully solicit your Excellency to make the appointment at your earliest convenience.

It will be seen from the above, that our success is very limited; but from the comprehensive view of the matter, which, in my official position, I have been able to obtain, I have been strengthened in the opinion, that immigration is our great necessity, and that without an influx of an industrious and reliable working population, our State can never recover her lost prosperity. And I think I perceive a prospect of success, depending, however, on our continued exertions, and the liberality of our people in their offers of lands. I am now preparing a scheme for aiding the efforts of this bureau, and at the same time, giving an impetus to the industrial developments of our State, which I will soon have the honor of submitting to your Excellency. Several planters have already made offers of donating to industrious settlers portions of their lands; and if such liberality could become general, it would certainly exercise a decided and favorable influence. But our constant endeavor should be to induce our people to associate everywhere in the interest of immigration and industrial progress. A commencement has been made, but our distress is so general and our energies seem to be so benumbed, in consequence of the embarrassments of our labor sys

tem, and the insecurity of our institutions, that it would be unjust not to bide patiently for more favorable developments in the course of time. Yet, whoever among us has patriotism, should exercise it now, with his friends and neighbors, for the general good.

The General Assembly, at the last session, added the appropriation of \$10,000 to the executive contingent fund, for the expenses of the bureau of Immigration. Of this amount executive drafts have been made of \$7,007 22, to cover the following payments, viz:

For salary of agent in Scandinavia, for the year, to April, 1868	\$1,500 00
For salary of agent in Germany, for the year, to May, 1868	1,500 00
For salary of Commissioner for nine months up to Nov. 18, 1867	1,125 00
Contingencies, printing, and advertising in Germany	500 00
Contingencies, printing, and advertising in Scandinavia	500 00
For advertising in this State and in the North and sundry other expenses	468 55
For postage, box rent, and distributing expenses	51 29
For books, stationery, and fuel	38 60
For stereotype map, printing 5,000 pamphlets in English, and 10,000 maps of State, &c.	732 00
For printing Supplement No. 1	165 28
Balance Commissioner's contingent	424 50
	<hr/> \$7,007 22
Leaving undrawn of appropriations for 1867	\$2,902 78

Your Excellency will perceive that our expenses, including the pay of an agent for Ireland, have been entirely within the appropriation. It was the intention of the law to have the three agencies of Ireland, Germany and Scandinavia filled, and the appropriation was estimated accordingly. Subsequent developments would seem to make it desirable to also establish an agency in France, if we could, in any manner, accomplish it, which would perhaps be possible by means of last year's unexpended funds. Several of our Southern sister States have now established immigration bureaus. Louisiana pays her commissioner a very liberal salary and provides for two clerks and five agents. But New Orleans has now steam communication with Europe, and immigrants for Missouri and the far West travel that route. Texas is increasing very fast by large immigration from Germany, four vessels with nearly a thousand passengers having arrived at Galveston this season. This is owing to her German colonies established before the war. Tennessee provides only for agents in the Northern parts of the United States, and expects to gain her share of immigration in that manner. But her people are very much alive to the subject and are everywhere forming associations to facilitate immigration by private contributions. By reducing the salaries of our other agents, we might, perhaps, also have an agency in New York; but I am not convinced of any great advantage from it. The better class of immigrants to that great port proceed immediately to their point of destination, leaving those without means and without a settled purpose, and very often disinclined to agricultural pursuits, behind them. Such we could not give employment to. We are as yet too contracted in varieties of pursuits, until our industrial occupations and general prosperity shall be once more better developed. There are now a number of private agencies ready to fill all orders of planters for laborers on special contracts. My efforts have been directed to an influence in Europe which should give us a class of immigrants that will not only bring us their personal powers of production, but the means also to make them available at once; and with them and after them will come enough of laborers to supply all our demands without overburdening us with numbers of useless idlers whom we are unable to support. And we are in a fair way of

attaining these objects, which, however, would be very much facilitated, by a line of steamers, as I have mentioned above. The City of Charleston can and must be made the port of arrival for the immigrants to the States that I have named, and when we are once more under our own government, if it should be at all inclined to our speedy recuperation, it must be the aim of the Legislature to liberally assist in measures to that effect.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's ob't serv't,
JOHN A. WAGENER, *Commissioner Immigration.*

2.—TRADUCTION OF THE SOUTH IN EUROPE.

JOHN L. ZUNDSTRON Esq., Agent in Stockholm for the Louisiana Bureau of Immigration, in a letter to the Governor of Louisiana, of which we have a copy furnished by J. C. Kathman Esq., chief of the bureau, alludes to the unscrupulous efforts of rival agents, representing the Northern and Western States, to deter immigrants from seeking homes in the South, and gives an extract from one of the numerous pamphlets which have fallen under his notice. He says:

I have now spent six months visiting the principal cities and seaports of Europe where emigrants congregate, and consequently where emigration bureau agents abound. But not satisfied with beholding the workings of the large hives or marts, I have penetrated to the interior of the very sources from whence, like so many rivulets, that large flood of emigration which inundates and fertilizes our country, and which the Northern and Western States have thus far, so cunningly and wisely known how to attract almost exclusively.

I have now before me, as I write, a small library of pamphlets and fixtures, in four or five different languages, which I have collected in different parts of Europe, in all of which some part of North America, Canada, South America, and even Australia are recommended to the emigrant, but which invariably contain a warning against going to the South. In one of these, of this year, the following words occur: "In regard to the Southern States of North America, which have lately begun to enlist, and are endeavoring to obtain field hands and mechanics, it is not to be denied that the South offers to the industrious and enterprising workman many advantages, which he [may in vain look for in the so much praised and highly favored Northern States, that the soil is rich and has, even whilst it was subjected to the trying ordeal and exhausting labor of the slaves, produced immense harvests. True it is, that the better and more enlightened of the South, look upon the introduction of intelligent and industrious German immigrants as the best means and true source whereby to improve and enhance the value of their possessions, and will therefore certainly use their influence to keep and protect such Germans as may settle in their neighborhood. Still, it is to be considered, that heretofore all kinds of ordinary work, in the house or in the field and shop, has been done by slaves, and consequently manual labor is considered dishonorable, and the workman is looked upon in this light. This contempt of the working classes, has been so widespread and taken such deep root in the South, that it will not soon pass away." Then the same individual goes on, depreciating the public schools of the South, and tells the emigrant he will not find so many countrymen there to associate with, after the heat and burden of the day, and that in case of sickness or trouble, the same sympathy and kind treatment cannot be found as in the Northern States.

3.—AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INDUSTRIOUS MEN.

From the registry of the Louisiana Bureau of Immigration we have a great many letters offering rare opportunities to working men to secure a comfortable home. Thousands and tens of thousands are out of employment now in the North, and instead of hanging around the large cities where their condition daily grows worse, they should manage somehow to find their way to the South, where their muscle is needed and where they will be warmly welcomed if they mean work. We give an extract from the records of the Bureau as a specimen of the opportunities offered.

To the Chief of the Bureau.

SIR:—I have two tracts of land, one 930 acres, and one 830 acres, about one mile apart, situated on the upper Bayou Sara and Jackson Road, the former 10 miles from Bayou Sara, and 4 miles from Jackson, the latter running to within 1½ miles of Jackson. About 1,000 acres cleared, the balance well timbered; 400 acres enclosed and in cultivation, and about 600 acres uninclosed. These lands I propose to sell to immigrants, in any size lots they wish, from 10 acres, to the amount of the whole tract, with the exception of the improvements and two hundred acres, on the following terms, viz: The land enclosed and under cultivation, I will sell on a credit of one, two and three years, without interest, for 100 pounds of lint cotton per acre, the cotton to be a good merchantable article. Payments to be made at the end of the second and third years, without interest. The inclosed land I will sell on a credit of one, two, three and four years, without interest, on same terms as above, requiring no payment for the first two years.

To good industrious men, who may not have made all the payments by the end of the third or fourth years, I will give an extension of two years with ten per cent. interest. This land before the war produced 80 to 150 bushels of corn to the acre; vegetables of all kinds and fruits are raised here. The produce of sugar from these lands, has always compared favorably with that of any other parish in this State. On the land is a good gin house, with two eighty saw-gins, a fine grist-mill and saw-mill, with circular saw, all run by steam, which will be a great advantage to settlers in getting their cotton ginned, their corn ground, and their lumber sawed; one of these tracts has a comfortable cabin on it, which settlers can have for one year free of rent. I cannot make advances of money or supplies, consequently the settler will have to furnish himself with these necessities of life. Advice will be given gratis at any time. I would like to have about the first of January a man and his wife for gardener and cook, and a woman to wash and iron and maid of all work.

Respectfully Yours,

Jackson, Louisiana.

W. L. CONNELL.

4.—TREATMENT AND PAY OF THE FREEDMEN.

The radical press of the North persists in asserting that for any defect in the labor system in the South, for the insubordination of the negroes, for their admitted laziness, for their thieving propensities and for every other defect to which their flesh is heir, the planter is responsible by reason of bad treatment, overtasking and insufficient wages. The following regulations passed at a meeting of citizens in Summerville, Alabama, held recently, will serve as a refutation of this libel, which we are persuaded is known to be a libel by these radical editors, but is reiterated from time to time for partisan purposes:

Whereas, The present disorganized and inefficient System of Labor is causing great loss to the citizens of this community and county, and must ultimately result in the entire destruction of the agricultural interests of the country ; and whereas the interests of the whites and blacks are identical ; therefore,

1st. *Resolved*, That concert of action is indispensable among those hiring laborers for the ensuing year.

2d. That every one hiring laborers should impress upon them the necessity of complying with the terms of their contract ; and in the event of their failure to do so, they should be discharged.

3d. That as good citizens, and acting in good faith towards each other, we pledge ourselves not to employ any laborers discharged for a violation of contracts, without a certificate of recommendation from the person last employing them.

4th. That it is our duty and intention to act with perfect good faith toward the freedmen ; to respect and uphold their newly acquired right, and to do all in our power to bring about that good feeling and harmony between employers and employes, which alone can insure united and successful action.

5th. That in hiring for a portion of the crop, we can not afford to give more than one-fourth and furnish the laborers their provisions ; or one-third, they furnishing their own provisions ; or one-half of the crop, they paying one-half of the current expenses in producing the same, and furnishing their own provisions.

6th. That we should adopt a schedule of prices equalizing the wages paid laborers ; and that we recommend the following classification : for 1st class field hands \$10 per month ; 2d class \$8 per month ; 3d class \$6 per month.

7th. That ten hours be considered a day's labor, from 1st April to 1st October, and nine hours, from 1st October to 1st April.

5.—IMMIGRATION IN TEXAS.

This young and growing State, the most prosperous of any in the South, is reaping the fruits of having already a large and successful German colony within her limits. The arrivals of immigrants at Galveston of late have been very large. An exchange says :

A large number of the German immigrants recently arrived at Galveston, have started for Washington and Colorado counties. The *News* says another ship load will soon arrive at this port. Our merchants who are engaged in the German trade inform us that there is every prospect of a large emigration from Germany to this State.

Those already arrived come from Prussia, Austria, and Hanover, and are the best class of emigrants we have had since the war.

A train of twelve emigrant wagons passed through Waco en route to the city of Austin. They were all the way from Illinois, and their outfit was fine.

The Waxahachie *Argus* says the influx of immigration to Northwestern Texas seems larger at present than usual. We seldom examine any of our neighboring exchanges without finding accounts of the arrival in their respective counties of numerous new-comers. During the present week we have noticed an unusual number passing through our town.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND CLIPPINGS.

THE tendency of recent Radical legislation, whatever may be its ultimate designs, will be to establish a conviction in every reflecting mind, that in resisting step by step, the formation and growth, the aims and the encroachments of the sectional party which attained power in 1860, the great leaders of opinion in the South were the staunchest friends of constitutional government; and that in their oft repeated predictions of the long train of calamitous consequences which would ensue upon the final triumph of that party, they were true prophets and profound statesmen. And the actual results to the South of the three years of radical misrule, which has converted the fairest portion of our country into a comparative wilderness, and destroyed with its malign influences every vestige of its former prosperity, will none the less justify to the eyes of the world the attempt to escape the evils so faithfully foretold either peaceably, as we designed, or by the sword, when driven, as we were, to that stern arbiter.

While these are the reflections which in the hands of the future historian will be elaborated and applied in a philosophic review of the causes that led to the great conflict, and in determining the relative claims of the contestants to right and justice, the American people may, for the present, wisely determine to ignore the consideration of issues which are buried in the ruins of the cause that gave them life, and turn with anxious ear to mark the approaching footsteps of another and a mightier revolution. For while few will deny

that the declared objects and logical aims of those who inaugurated the great rebellion were severely consistent with the whole theory of free government; that their action was in strict accordance with imperishable examples in history, and that in the event of success, free government would have been vindicated rather than imperiled; none can fail to discern in the march of events that heralds the shock of a new convulsion—indicating as they do, the de-thronement of reason, the abasement of patriotism, and the decline and fall of statesmanship, and the substitution of fanaticism, sectional hatred, and partizanship—therefore, in view, we say, of these ominous manifestations of the animus which will inspire the leaders of the coming revolution, none can fail to see, that if permitted to be successful, the durability and the permanence of Republican institutions will have received a shock from which recovery will be impossible.

Congress regardless of the will of the people so clearly and unmistakable expressed in the late elections—heedless of the cry that goes up from every part of the country for peace and tranquillity, and deaf to the appeals of which the idle looms of New England, the unusual quiet of the metropolis, a decaying commerce, and the untilled fields of the fruitful South, are all so eloquent—faithless to the country, the Constitution, and the principle of free government, Congress is alone responsible for the present condition of affairs, and to it the people must again speak in tones so significant and emphatic, that they dare not disobey.

The radical majority in Congress, representing a minority of the people of the whole United States, seek to absorb the entire legislative, judicial, and executive power of the government in their hands. The legislative they have, the judicial they seek to secure, by rendering it a pliant tool for party purposes, and the executive they transfer from the rightful hands of its constitutional possessor, whose fidelity opposes an impassable barrier to their schemes and purposes, to the ductile keeping of a new convert, who, like all new converts, is unreasoning in his devotion, and unscrupulous in the service that he renders. We need not say that for every step thus taken, there is not a shadow of authority in the instrument framed for our government by its founders, and framed so well, that the wise and good of every land knew not what most to admire—the broad liberty it ensured, the effectual safeguards it provided (or seemed to provide) against the abuse of power, the wise distribution of power, the checks and balances that defined the limits, but did not cripple, the functions of special and subordinate departments, or the symmetrical whole, perfect in its design, beautiful in its proportion, and enduring in its marvellous strength and completeness. But the advocates of the higher law in Congress, though solemnly pledged to respect and to defend this instrument, and so to shape their legislation as to conform to its every requirement, now quietly ignore its existence, and substitute for its grand fundamental disposition of power the mere enactments of its capricious will, guided and distorted by the necessities of party in its mad struggle for a continuance of power.

It cannot be doubted that this

abandonment of all restraint will lead to the commission of usurpation yet more flagrant, and exactions yet more arbitrary upon the liberties and the *patience* of the people. Nor can it be doubted that the time will come when the American people, true to the genius of their institutions, and mindful of their great destiny as the acknowledged conservators of republican government, will rise in their might and hurl from power the fanatical disorganizers and corrupt tools of a defiant faction, and will call them to a strict account for the lost fruits of a costly and bloody war, for the frightful burden of taxation still borne almost entirely by the industry of one section, which but for the impediments thrown by them in the path of reconstruction would have been lightened or equalized, for the depression in trade, for the corruption in the revenue, for the wasteful extravagance in all departments of the government, for the destruction of a branch of industry that furnished two-thirds of our foreign exchanges, for the retardation of our material prosperity in every way, through neglect of proper legislation, and for their criminal persistence in sacrificing the best interests of the whole country to the unscrupulous exactions of a lawless minority.

COMMEND us to Mayor Hoffman, of New York, as a skillful word-painter—a photographist of character of rare fidelity. Who can fail to recognize the portrait so cleverly and so forcibly drawn in the closing sentence of the following extract, which we take from his able and witty address delivered at the *Ledger* banquet in Philadelphia last June:

I know it is no easy thing in this active, busy country of ours, where

everything marches to the double quick, and where great movements are inaugurated and discussed, and canvassed and consummated with wonderful rapidity; where the editorial pen is used with a readiness and dispatch equalled only by the electric telegraph; where party passion runs high, and popular feelings and prejudices surge and roll and break as waves do on the shore of the ocean; where currents and counter-currents are incessantly setting and resetting, changing and changing again; I know, I say, in such a country it is extremely difficult so to conduct a great daily paper as to keep it always steady in the interest of the truth, firm and decided in its advocacy of the right, always within the proper limits of a well-regulated liberty, and never abandoned to an unrestrained license. Yet difficult as it is, it is possible; and to accomplish it should be the aim and ambition of every conscientious and patriotic journalist who strives for the crown which belongs to an honest man. (Great applause.) There are men who fail to do it; but I tell you, he who forgets the difference between the liberty of the press and the license of the press; who assails private character, scoffs at religion, gives currency to falsehood, panders to the worst passions of mankind, goes with the public current, whichever way it turns; encourages licentiousness, advertises all manner of evil, and circulates libels, may not have visited upon him the terrors and the penalties of the human law; but society will set its mark upon him, and even while it tolerates and takes his paper, will shun him in his daily life, and leave him to pass through the world without a friend, and into eternity without a regret. (Great applause.)

Since reading and selecting the foregoing, we have met with another admirable specimen of the same art, which convinces us that his "Honor" is not without dangerous rivals. Our contemporary of the Richmond *Enquirer and Examiner*, under date of January 15th, gives us a pen and ink sketch, which would be recognized

all over Christendom, without the heading "Butler in Richmond." Its hideous outlines and treacherous lineaments, can find but one original, for nature gladly exhausted her stock of everything that is vile, sordid, base, and infamous in perfecting a single type. How appetizing and refreshing to the detestable brute, and how keen a sauce to his morning meal at the "Ballard," must have been the assurance thus conveyed that his claim to an immortality of guilt—to an unapproachable pre-eminence of crime, is undisputed; that the vile ambition to embody in his own foul carcase every loathsome and debasing instinct with which humanity has been cursed, and to crush out effectually all traces of a redeeming trait, has attained its goal. And yet in the moment of completest triumph, there was no doubt a terrible regret that there were no new fields of vice to conquer, no deeper depths of villainy to be attained—that having drained every chalice of pollution, he may die "of thirst, because there are no more to drink."

In his speech before the so-called Constitutional Convention, at Richmond, Butler ventures sometimes upon (to him) slippery ground, and treats of matters so far beyond his comprehension, that if he persists, he must surely trip and fall. He says, for example, "With men of honor a mere affirmation is more binding than the longest oath ever written." As binding, we admit—but in the name of all that's good and great, where should this thing learn how men of honor, think, feel, or act?

We cannot transfer the portrait from the *Enquirer and Examiner* for want of space, and our own feeble attempt to put into words the contempt in which this living reproach upon

humanity is held by every honest man, must serve for the present.

One word to the proprietors of the "Ballard House"—a fine hotel, of which we were recently a guest. We have two suggestions to make as to the precautions which it would be prudent for them to take when rid of their unwelcome guest. The first, obviously would be to "count the spoons," the next, to renovate and fumigate—as vessels from infected ports are wont to do at quarantine—so that the pure atmosphere may not be polluted by the noisome odors which this rotten craft with its freightage of filth may leave behind it.

The author of the article entitled "Historical Justice to the South," in our December number, accuses us of having given him a rank not held by him in the late Confederate service. We think, however, that in assigning the title as we did, from a simple recollection of services rendered, we evinced a keener appreciation of faithful duty than was manifested by those then in power in this and many other instances which we recall.

Judge S. D. F. Moore, of Alabama, has sent us an abridgment of the first part of his forthcoming work, treating of the "Causes which led to the late Great Conflict," which we shall endeavor to publish in full in our March number, and promises us at an early day an abridgement of Part IV., treating of the "Consequences to the African." We call attention to the writer's views, as expressed in an article in this issue.

We take great pleasure in calling attention to the card of Messrs. Willis & Chisolm, shipping and commis-

sion merchants, Charleston, S. C. which appears in our advertising pages. The first to establish a commercial house in Charleston after the close of hostilities, they have had no small share in the task of rebuilding the prostrate commerce of that afflicted community; and their energies, enterprise, and resources have been used unsparingly in the furtherance of that worthy object.

The readers of the REVIEW have been indebted to the industry and sagacity of these gentlemen for many important facts and statistics in relation to the cotton supply and prospects, and other matters of commercial interest collected from their extensive correspondence in Europe and elsewhere, and we have now on our table some valuable data furnished by them, which reached us too late for the present number.

OUR BOOK TABLE.

FROM MESSRS. D. APPLETON & CO. we have received several volumes of their new and beautiful cheap edition of *The Works of Charles Dickens*.

Of the literary and artistic merit of these popular publications, the critic is not called upon at this late day to venture an opinion. Wherever the English language is spoken and read, the verdict of millions of readers has been almost unanimously spoken in their favor, as embodying the most truthful delineations of English life and character, in all classes of society, ever given to the public; and the traveller from distant shores wandering through the streets of the great city, or strolling in the green lanes of old England is scarcely startled as he comes in contact—here, there, and everywhere, with the very types and models that inspired the pencil of the great artist.

Our American publishers have exhibited commendable enterprise in the production of these admirable creations in every variety of style and binding, adapted to the wants and means of every class of readers; but to Messrs. Appleton & Co. must be awarded the palm of excellence for the best *cheap* edition yet offered to the public. The specimens now before us are printed from new, clear type, on paper of excellent quality; they are entirely free from even a suspicion of the slovenliness which is so often patent in "cheap" editions; they are neatly bound in attractive and tasteful paper covers, and the whole series, comprising seventeen volumes, or forty-two hundred and fifty-five pages will be furnished by the publishers for the astonishingly low price of \$4 50, post-paid, to any address. Those of our readers who have long been familiar with the writings of this favorite author, but who desire a complete edition near them for reference or repersual, will find in this a new and attractive feature. Each volume has a new preface, in which the author frankly discloses the design and motive that induced its preparation and the ends, instructive or amusing, which he had in view, in the selection of his wide range of characters.

From the same publishers we have *Napoleon and Blücher*, an historical novel, by L. Muhlbach, translated from the German by F. Jordan. 1 vol. 8vo., cloth, \$2.00.

The unusual excellence universally accorded to Miss Mulbach in the province of historical romance, is more and more confirmed with each evidence of her marvellous information and industry, and of her transcendent powers as a novelist, as they rapidly appear. The handsome volume before us is a

continuation of the series entitled "Napoleon in Germany," of which "Louisa of Prussia," and "Napoleon and the Queen of Prussia," are the first two volumes, and while marked—but not disfigured—by the subdued prejudices which are inevitable in one so intensely national as the author has shown herself to be, the truth of history has not been tampered with, as the references and footmarks abundantly demonstrate.

The present volume closes with the impressive scenes and incidents attending the departure of the fallen conqueror from Fontainbleau for Elba, an exile from, and a pensioner of, his beloved France. Her prowess he had vindicated on a hundred battle fields, and for her glory Europe had been shaken to its centre, and blood had flowed—a crimson deluge—from the Alps to the Baltic, from the golden valleys of the Peninsula to the conquering snows of Moscow. The theme is not yet exhausted, and we may anticipate from the same gifted pen a graphic picture of the return from Elba, the re-awakened enthusiasm of the "grand army," the subsequent campaign, the final struggle, and the shadows that closed around a career unparalleled in the annals of history.

We are indebted to Messrs. Harper & Brothers, for the following:

1. *Duff's Book-keeping by Single and Double Entry*, adapted to mercantile bank, and railroad purposes by P. Duff, founder and proprietor of Duff's Mercantile College, Pittsburg, Pa. 20th edition, enlarged and revised. The Italian method of keeping books, in its original form, involved tedious and unnecessary repetition of entries, which modern improvements have entirely dispensed with. The journal,

which but a short while back was looked upon as the most important book of the set, has fallen into general disuse, and accounts are now posted directly from the cash and day-books, which are sometimes erroneously entitled books of original entry. In nine cases out of ten they are *not* books of original entry, and are not admitted as such in courts of law to prove accounts, being merely transcripts from the blotter—the true book of original entry—indispensable in every concern doing a large business.

As a practical book-keeper, it has long been a question in the writer's mind, whether the efforts to reduce the science to the minimum point of labor expenditure have not been pushed too far—whether, in fact, the so-called improvements have not been attained at the cost of an obscurity, in direct antagonism with the best established principles of true book-keeping. We are confirmed, in a hitherto half-formed conviction that this is the case, by a study of the volume before us, especially in its treatment of joint account adventures. Not one of these transactions, where the venture has been made to foreign parts, shows actual results. The credits are all made in sterling, at 4-44.44, and when exchange has been sold against or in advance of returns, the premium has been placed directly to the credit of profit and loss, instead of to the credit of the adventure. In instances of close profits, the eight or nine per cent. thus incorrectly credited, might entirely change the complexion of the venture, and show a loss where in fact it had paid a reasonable gain.

Book-keeping should be as transparent as possible, and we recommend a system which will enable the

accountant to prepare a comprehensive statement of an account from the ledger and journal, without having to trace an entry out from the auxiliary books. The entry "sundries to sundries" should be avoided—it is far too complicated, especially for beginners, and has nothing to recommend it, except that it saves a little space and writing. In posting, we would suggest that debit folios be noted on the left hand margin of the journal outside of the red lines, and credit folios within them.

We doubt very much if book-keeping can be successfully mastered by the study of any treatise on the subject. The best accountants are those that have commenced their mercantile career by sweeping out the counting-room and running errands, and who have risen to the desk by carefully observing the course of business, and thus mastering a practical knowledge of accounts, superior to all the theories extant.

2. *Folks and Fairies.* Stories for little children. By Lucy Randall Comfort, with engravings. Square 4to., cloth. New York: 1868.

The Harpers issue a catalogue comprising a rare collection of juvenile books, and Mrs. Comfort has contributed one of the most attractive of the series. Like the fairy-tales of Jean Macé, each of these little stories inculcates a moral, and the successes of the little heroes and heroines are all directly traceable to the possession of some good quality, such as perseverance, good temper, truthfulness, temperance, diligence, etc., while the disappointments and distresses which befall other examples set before us are directly shown to be the consequences of the possession and display of opposite characteristics. Parents will encourage a taste for reading in their offspring, and

at the same time develop a regard and reverence for virtue and integrity by placing such books as these freely before them.

3. *Playing for High Stakes.* A novel by Annie Thomas, with illustrations—being No. 306 of Harpers' library of select novels. Price 25 cents. New York: 1868.

The days of cheap publication seem to be revived, when a clever novel by a popular author, handsomely illustrated, is offered for a paper quarter. The edition must be very large to afford this figure, and we presume that it is, as Miss Thomas has hosts of readers and admirers, who will find that in this production she has advanced another step towards the foremost rank of those held in the highest estimate as writers of modern fiction. There is a vigor and freedom of outline in her sketches of character, that at once convinces the reader they have been drawn from nature by a true and observant artist, and the lights and shadows are distributed with a delicacy of touch and effect which belongs alone to genius.

PERIODICALS AND PAMPHLETS.

THE *Southern Review*, (quarterly) Vol. III. No 5 for January, 1868. \$5 per annum. Baltimore, Bledsoe & Browne.

This able quarterly, the mouth-piece of the South in the higher departments of literature, is, we are glad to hear now permanently established on a substantial basis of patronage. We can not speak too highly of it. The present number opens with a scathing review of Dr. Draper's "History of the American Civil War," in which the reviewer clearly shows that the author has been led by his prejudices to distort history, to suppress well known facts, to revel in fictions and misstatements, calculated

to give color to his arguments, and, finally, to have signally failed in his philosophical view of the causes that led to the great conflict. The other papers are: II. Architecture of the Animal Kingdom; III. German Romance; IV. J. J. Rousseau; V. The School-master; VI. The Grain of Wheat; VII. School Histories of the United States; VIII. The Emperor Julian; IX. Quackery in American Literature; X. Book Notices.

The Southern Planter and Farmer. New series. Vol. II. No. 1 for January, 1868. Richmond, Va. Charles B. Williams.

The projected union of the *Farmer* and the *Southern Planter*, both able agricultural monthlies published in Richmond, has been consummated, and we have the result in a handsome journal of 64 pages, bearing both titles unified as above. This invaluable repository of useful information to the Southern husbandman will be furnished now at the low subscription of \$2 a year in advance, being a reduction of one-third from the former price. We trust that the enterprise and liberality of the proprietor will be rewarded by a largely increased list, and that the country will be correspondingly benefitted by the diffusion of so much that it becomes every planter and farmer to know.

The New York Teacher and American Educational Monthly. Devoted to popular instruction and literature. New York: J. W. Schermerhorn & Co. January, 1868.

This highly instructive periodical is supplied at the low price of \$1.50 per annum, and is thus placed within the reach of every teacher who desires to keep posted with regard to those things that are transpiring in the pro-

fection. The contents are always varied and interesting.

The *American Farmer*, Baltimore. Worthington & Lewis. Monthly. \$2 in advance.

The January number of this old Magazine appears in new type, appropriate to the "new year," and contains a variety of interesting and useful articles—among them, The use of Chloroform and Sulphuric Ether in Veterinary Practice; Sugar Cane; Manures; Turnips for Manure; High Prices of Improved Sheep well sustained; Potatoes; Rot and Mildew in Grapes; Small Industries (Fruits); Seed Enough; Specialties in Farming; Nitrate of Lime; U. S. Department of Agriculture—Glover Museum; Celery; Silk Plant; Labor Contracts; Our Agricultural Progress 1850 to 1860; Culture of Broom Corn; Economy in Feeding Horses; besides the usual Monthly Farm, Garden, and Greenhouse work.

MR. EDWARD ATKINSON, of Boston, has our thanks for a pamphlet copy of the "Report of a Committee of the Boston Board of Trade upon the cotton tax," of which committee he was a member. We have made use of the arguments and statistics of this report in our usual monthly statement of the cotton trade.

To Mr. George W. Childs, of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, we are indebted for a brochure of about 60 pp., embellished with a fine wood-cut of the palatial structure erected for the uses of that popular daily, and containing a full illustrated description of the building in all its unrivalled completeness—also a full report of the addresses made in the opening ceremonies on the 20th of last June, and the speeches made subsequently at the grand banquet given by the proprietor at the Conti-

nental Hotel, to as goodly a company of five hundred guests, including some of the most distinguished representatives of the field, the forum, and the press, the pulpit, the bench and the mart, as were ever met together. Such a gathering was a compliment to the ceaseless industry, untiring energy, and comprehensive enterprise and munificence of Mr. Childs, as graceful as it was well deserved. The correspondence which follows from distinguished guests who could not attend is highly interesting, and taken altogether, the occasion was improved to show the dignity, importance and value of the "fourth estate" as a power in the land universally recognized, appreciated and respected.

Southern Society. We have received several numbers of an exceedingly well conducted and well printed weekly, published in Baltimore at \$4 per annum, and bearing the above title. The contributions in prose and poetry, are of a high order of merit, and we notice among the writers such well known signatures as A. J. Requier, Edward A. Pollard, and others equally practised and popular. The *Southern Home Journal*, also published in Baltimore, is likewise a weekly family paper. J. Y. Slater & Co., proprietors; subscription \$3 per annum, and is ably conducted. With such organs and exponents of Southern literature and art as this, and that just noticed, our people have no excuse for patronizing the trashy weeklies published at the North, most of which are as far inferior to the *Home Journal* and to *Southern Society* as are the sensational stories of Sylvanus Cobb to the graceful conceptions of John Esten Cooke. We are glad to note a revival in Southern letters, and trust our contemporaries will enjoy a protracted period of prosperity.

THE Director of the Bureau of Statistics has completed an elaborate report for one of the committees in Congress, which shows the tonnage and value of the freight transported during the year ending March 31, 1867, across the State of Illinois, westward of the meridian of Chicago, from which it appears that there was transported over eight railroads running eastward: 3,358,000 tons of freight — value, \$235,000,000; and westward, 1,345,000 tons — value, \$411,000,000; the combined movement amounting to the enormous aggregate of 4,703,600 tons of freight — value, \$646,000,000, an amount equal to nearly two-thirds of the entire foreign commerce of this country.

The New York Shipping List says: —We see by our Southern exchanges that the project for a Ship Canal, as a means of inter-communication between the Gulf and Atlantic, through the Florida peninsula, is revived, and warmly commended by some of the New-Orleans papers. One proposition is to cut the Canal from Fernandina on the Atlantic to Cedar Keys on the Gulf, where there is a good and safe harbor. Another proposition is to use the St. John's River to about opposite San Augustine, and then dig across to Cedar Keys. Surveys were made before the war, under the authority of the United States Government, and the plan was highly commended. It is the purpose of those most nearly interested, to again bring the project before Congress. As the ships which trade with these ports nearly all belong at the North, and as Southern products and exports enrich us as much, or more, than they do the South, we are as deeply interested as they are in shortening and protecting our communication with them.

RAILROADS IN THE UNITED STATES.—The progress made in the construction of railroads in the United States is one of the marvels of the age. Within a period of less than forty years, upwards of fifty-one thousand miles of steam railroads have been constructed in the United States, at an aggregate cost of \$1,502,564,000. In the six New England States there are 3,851 miles of railroad completed and in use, constructed at a cost of \$159,091,483; in New York, 3,025,30-100 miles, which cost \$152,570,769. In Pennsylvania, where the first railroad in the United States was constructed in 1809, 4,037 miles are in operation, which cost \$210,080,000. In addition to her 4,037 miles of railroad, Pennsylvania possesses upwards of 700 miles of *underground* track, leading to coal mines, iron-ore beds and furnaces.

THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS.—The Washington correspondent of the (Camden, N. J.) *New Republic*, pays the following deserved tribute to the energy and ability with which this Bureau is conducted:

“ Congress last year changed the system by which the reports of the commerce and navigation of the country were made up. They have heretofore been prepared in the office of the Register of the Treasury. During the forty-six years for which they have been annually compiled, they have rarely been ready at the time required by law, later than which they were of comparatively little use. In one instance the report was not made until *ten months* after the close of the fiscal year. Condensed statements which were ordered by Congress in advance of the regular reports were never furnished. Last year the system was changed. A separate Bu

reau of statistics was established in the Treasury, charged especially with the publication of these reports. Within twelve months such reforms have been effected by this Bureau that the condensed statements for the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1867, were published on August 27, 1867, less than *two* months after its close. The San Francisco statement has usually been published a year after time. It takes about forty two days to arrive, so that the summaries have really been published *fifteen* days after the arrival of the last statement."

THE TAX ON TOBACCO.—The New York Tobacco Board of Trade, at a meeting held some time ago, adopted a report and resolutions, which have been printed for circulation. They urge a reduction of the tax on manufactured tobacco of all grades to twenty cents a pound, which rate they think would yield an equal if not greater revenue than that now collected from this source. They think that the collection of the tax by a system of well-executed stamps, to be affixed to all packages, and paid for before the tobacco is offered for consumption, as a plan capable of reduction to a practicable method, offers strong claims for adoption.

They are unanimously of opinion that, unless the tax is so paid before the tobacco leaves the hands of the manufacturer, it should invariably be first placed in bonded warehouse before issued, either for consumption or export, and that a permanent series of laws, well-devised and not liable to the frequent changes now instituted by the Treasury Department, is absolutely necessary for the safe and uninterrupted prosecution of this business.

PHILADELPHIA PETROLEUM TRADE.—The exportation of petroleum is now about equally divided between New York and Philadelphia, although the former for a long time had the bulk of the trade. To obtain even an equitable division of the trade, Philadelphia has had to expend largely of its capital and enterprise, and now this trade is threatened with suspension by the closing of navigation on the Delaware and Schuylkill. While navigation is kept open, the shipment of petroleum to foreign countries is busily going on, and it is necessary to the continued prosperity of the business, if not to its existence, that the rivers should be kept in a navigable condition. The refiners and exporters have petitioned Councils to provide the same means for keeping open the Schuylkill as are employed in the Delaware, and if Philadelphia desires to retain her position as a great shipping port for petroleum, the Councils will speedily take favorable action upon the petition.

THE LARGEST QUICKSILVER MINE IN THE WORLD—HOW MURCERY IS EXTRACTED FROM THE ORE.—“I visited, while in the Santa Clara Valley, the famous quicksilver mines of New Almaden. They lie about thirteen miles from San Jose, on a range of hills some 1,500 feet above the valley. The rocks in which the cinnabar is found are magnesian schists. We ascend to the opening of the mine by a carefully graded road, some three miles. Here half a dozen of us were put on an ore car and pushed by hand through a level some eight hundred feet long to the centre of the mountain, where we entered a large chamber, made by the removal of the cinnabar. From this a vertical shaft descended nearly three hundred feet. The lower part of the mine is reached

by ladders in various openings or cavities, which communicate with one another by narrow passages. The bucket is also used for descent. One of these descending passages is forty feet high, and seventy feet broad. The galleries are frequently heavily timbered, to sustain the rock above.

"Owing to the low price of quicksilver in the markets of the world, the production is by means so extensive here as it has been. I believe a large portion of the laborers were then out of employment. The ores are usually extracted by contract, the price paid being from three to five dollars per *carga* of 300 pounds. The laborers are mostly Mexicans.

"The mercury is extracted from the ores by condensation. The only preparation is breaking them by hand, in order to remove the unproductive rock. They are then thrown into brick furnaces, capable of holding from 60,000 to 110,000 pounds. The chambers are heated from a furnace on the side with wood fuel and separated by a wall of brick pierced with openings. The product of combustion is forced through alternate chambers above and below, until all the mercury is condensed. The furnaces are built on double arches of brick work and plates of iron, to catch all falling particles of the metal. Formerly much was lost in the earth.

"The metal begins to run in from four to six hours after the fires are lighted, and in about sixty hours it is discharged through the various condensing chambers into large kettles where it is all ready for market.

"The total product of this mine, in 1865, was 47,078 flasks, or 3,604,465 pounds of quicksilver. The export during the last six months was 12,716 flasks, worth \$423,200 or a decrease of 5,711 flasks, and of value, \$253,102

since 1866. Of these 12,716 flasks some 9,000 were exported to South America.

"The whole landed estate of the company is over twelve square miles, of which about one-third is mineral ground. There are over 400 buildings and workshops on the property. The new Almaden mine is now, we believe, the largest quicksilver mine in the world."—*N. Y. Times*.

HOW THEY ARE SETTLING THE
LABOR QUESTION IN MISSISSIPPI.—A
meeting of planters in Amite proposes
to adopt, among others, the following
regulations:

That in hiring freedmen for another year, we require them to expressly stipulate, to use their time and services for our own interest and advantage, and if they begin to neglect their duties and lose time by stopping their work during the week and attending "club meetings," without our permission, such hands shall be dismissed from our service and their wages forfeited.

That when any freedmen shall be thus discharged, we pledge ourselves not to hire or give such freedmen employment under any circumstances.

That we can not and will not contract with or hire any one who will hesitate to accede to the terms of the above resolutions, as it is risking too much and trusting too far to contract otherwise.

That these resolutions are not conceived in any spirit of revenge, or to oppress the freedmen, but as the best, quickest and surest means of enabling them to appreciate the obligation of contracts.